

SLINGSHOT

FREE



ISSUE #125

AUTUMN 2017

-A PUBLIC STATEMENT- FROM AN ANTIFA Arrestee.

The following was written by one of the Anti-Fascist arrestees who requested to remain anonymous.

Even as public exposure after Charlottesville has turned the tide and the fascist movement has begun to fracture, the narrative and aims of the right have been taken up as always by the state. The Berkeley mayor has tried to designate "Antifa" as a gang. Berkeley police have pursued serious charges against anti-fascist protestors, even

trying to charge community members with "hate crimes" for alleged anti-fascist graffiti. The California Highway Patrol have pursued serious charges against counter protestors to the nazi's attempted rally at the state capital last summer. Repression is happening all around us and solidarity is our best weapon against it.

The state's cooperation in the right-wing

story about "Antifa" is also taking place at the national level. After Milo Yiannopolis' attempted speech at UC Berkeley was shut down by thousands of counter-protestors in February, a petition began circulating online which sought to have "Antifa" labeled as a terrorist organization. Recently this goal has come to fruition, as the department of homeland security has designated "Antifa" a terrorist group.

In this case DHS collaborates with right-wing anger about anti-fascism, which is a consistent theme of this first year of resistance to the Trump regime. Right-wing extremists have killed 46 people since 2001. Some, like Jeremy Christian are organized Nazis. In March of this year, a 66 year old Black man named Timothy Caughman was stabbed to death in Manhattan by a white supremacist upset about "interracial relationships." Fascist groups like Identity Evropa are engaged in constant harassment campaigns and recruitment campaigns on college campuses

and in the streets of the bay. In late September, a synagogue was graffitied in Oakland. Who are the terrorists? Who have the antifascists killed? Who have the "Antifa" even killed? No one.

The shut-down of the Milo event was also the beginning of the alt-right's perverse fascination with the streets of Berkeley. Remember, the cops and klan (and the alt-right) go hand and hand. Despite not having permits for their four Berkeley events this year, police met with alt-right organizers ahead of the actions, physically protected and facilitated their presence, and disproportionately targeted counter-protesters for detention, disarmament, and arrest. In Portland at a rally in early June, a member of the right-wing militia the Oathkeepers was even allowed by DHS agents to assist in arresting a counter-protester. Berkeley police have also assisted in a targeting campaign against a local professor. Eric Clanton was targeted with accusations and an avalanche of online

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FACE
DOWN
CLIMATE
CHANGE

Gling
SHOT
a free paper for
a free people

By Wendy & Jesse & Hayley & Teresa
Three of the most intense hurricanes ever recorded just ripped through Puerto Rico and the southern US — within weeks of each other! Ash rained from the sky in Seattle and Portland for weeks. Record monsoons swept through Asia. Parts of Sierra Leon and Niger are underwater. San Francisco recorded its hottest day ever and Europe endured a triple-digit heat wave they called "Diablo." The fucking devil is here man, and its name is climate change.

But despite all this, no one is talking much about it — and even more lacking are concrete, urgent and massive plans to immediately and dramatically cut the carbon and other emissions that are driving the increasingly abnormal weather. What the hell is going on? How can most people realize we're tipping the world into a sixth mass extinction which fundamentally



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"A REPORT ON THE
LAST DAYS OF
STANDING ROCK"

By Loki Coyote

On February 22, I was arrested for resisting the eviction of the Oceti Oyate camp at Standing Rock. I've been mourning Oceti's loss ever since, and I'm sure many others have too. It's hard to see in the fog of grief, hard to think clearly in its clutches. But if we don't learn from the example of Standing Rock, mistakes that could be avoided will be repeated. I want people to learn from Standing Rock, so that future water protectors are better prepared to fight to win. I hope these words are meaningful to someone. If they are, please write me! Those of us who were there for this

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There are many feedback loops in nature and in human social interaction in which particular events feed on themselves. These loops can cause downward spirals, but sometimes there are also virtuous cycles in which particular actions succeed and in so doing, open doors for even greater success.

At the moment, our failure to meet climate change head-on with massive social action is taking us on a downward spiral. As carbon concentrations rise, it becomes harder to imagine any hope, harder to feel like anything anyone can do will make any difference, and it gets easier to checkout. This is causing diverse psychological and cultural trauma. Arguably the rise of nationalism and the breakdown of communication across social and political divides is a symptom of the fear and loss of hope we're feeling as the threat of human extinction sinks in. A tiny number of

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Those of you who are in the habit of defying authority have probably at some point heard a cop utter these words: "We can do this the easy way or the hard way." This is called a double bind, a false choice designed to make submission seem like the best option. If you accept that your only choices are the two that you're being presented, you've already lost.

It was a foregone conclusion that the police would successfully evict the camp that day. No one intended to put up the kind of resistance that would actually be effective in stopping the eviction. How did it come to this? Why did the mighty Oceti camp allow itself to be defeated? **"We Must Be Defenseless!"**

The day before the scheduled eviction, there was a meeting for people who had decided to stay in camp on February 22. Everyone was asked to hand over their phones and any other electronic devices at the entrance of the tent. Then, when the meeting

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SLINGSHOT

Slingshot is an independent radical newspaper published in Berkeley since 1988.

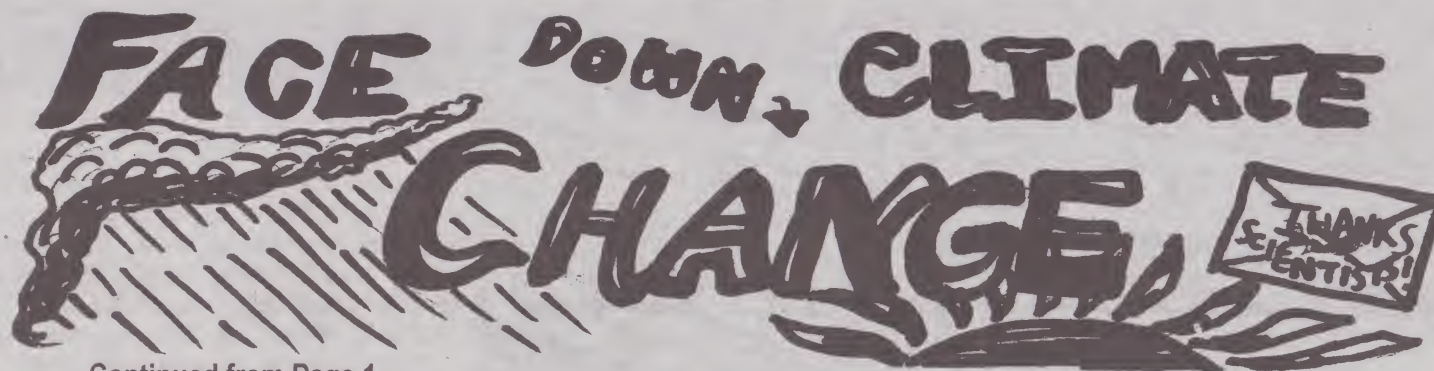
As *Slingshot* goes to press, our Indymedia comrades in Germany are freaking out, being shut down and dealing with government surveillance. Our comrades in Barcelona are being shot with rubber bullets.

Flipping through the pages of this issue, you will find articles that completely contradict each other. That's the idea: we aren't a monolith, we're a movement. Lots of voices make up this movement, and not everyone is supposed to agree. That's where our power comes from: holding space for contradiction and internal critique. Being able to see things from different points of view — to discuss, disagree but still be comrades in the same struggle is the only way we can win. May our diverse voices burst up like flowers through the pavement of the corporate oligarchy!

It's projects like *Slingshot* that hold the movement together, not because of our propaganda, but because of the great times we share listening to James Brown, The Clash and Gil Scott-Heron on vinyl while we put the pages together. We share stories, go to shows, and break bread. We write what's in our hearts and make the best art we can.

While we were making this issue, Sam went to the hospital and discovered his arm was broken — and it had been broken for a month! We all felt pretty bad about it, especially since Sam helped us unload a bunch of boxes of organizers when his arm was totally broken 3 weeks ago... And then, as if that wasn't enough, Sam got freaking mugged while walking home in Berkeley from layout on Saturday night. The muggers punched him in the face because he was being "too slow." "I mean, come on guys, I'm not the one mugging me," Sam said. Everyone in Berkeley is such a critic. Sheesh.

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Continued from Page 1

corporations and elites who run the fossil fuel-based system are doing everything they can to keep people distracted and fighting amongst themselves.

What we need right away is to step off this vicious cycle, and step onto a virtuous cycle, which is just within our reach. Turning away from fossil fuels will mean more than just changing fuel sources — it requires changes in the way we relate to the earth and other people. As we move away from an extractive, centralized model, there are huge opportunities to reorganize the economy away from inequality, racism, oppression and

To hell with living large — we need to re-learn how to live close to the ground valuing simplicity, freedom, cooperation, art, music and pleasure more than our stuff. Once we can see it, it's up to all of us to discuss it and start working out the details.

We can do this. Massive shifts in social structures as well as technological norms aren't just possible — they're inevitable if you look at how human societies have changed just over the last few hundred years. A lot of the racism and oppression we're struggling with now are legacies of slavery and feudalism. People argued that both of those

roads and there need to be anti-capitalist options that don't have ugly corporate logos on them.

It's time to point out the obvious, refuse to participate, and change: taking uber and lyft rides still puts carbon into the air — the better option is always to ride the bus! We need to demand better public transit, and do everything we can to get cars off the road. Why are so many products shipped thousands of miles, when we have the resources to grow and build almost everything locally?! Folks need to stop idling their car when they're just talking on a cell phone. Do you need to put your clothes in that dryer on the hottest day of the year? Cooperative businesses and housing save resources and are the bottom up solutions we need right now — they're not just for hippies anymore.

We can't let ourselves off the hook just because we've individually figured out how to live a low-carbon lifestyle — we have to look towards the bigger picture of how to make it easy for everyone else on the planet to likewise make the same changes. We are going to have to get creative, and we are going to have to get fierce if we are going to take down the 90 corporations that are responsible for 71% of carbon emissions. This will mean facing them in court, and in the streets! Seriously, we need to sue these fuckers for everything they're worth for destroying our futures (and our present!) and do all we can to make it sure it's no longer ever



ANTHONY SUL

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During layout the clock said 2:25 but it was actually 1:30 am and we were sleep deprived and layout-drunk so a collective member threw the clock down the stairs and then we destroyed every clock in our office with the Homes Not Jails crowbar. Fuck time! Then we all helped sweep up. This is the essence of a collective — we all get to smash things, and we all get to clean up afterwards so that our 5-year old collective member won't get cut by glass when she arrives the next morning.

Sometimes we wonder if making *Slingshot* is worth it, and find ourselves lamenting that we don't have better quality articles to cover such important topics. But then we find value in the weird and wonderful process of making the paper, and in the overwhelming volume of positive feedback from readers — especially prisoners. And it's amazing when we talk to people involved in radical projects and spaces all over the world and they say, "Oh, you work with *Slingshot*? Cool!"

We regret that this issue includes a sobriety article without an article to counter it. There was an article of tips for doing LSD, but

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Kicking the carbon habit requires social, legal, and political change, but there's a technological aspect, too. Right after the US entered World War II, almost all factories were rapidly converted to war production, and thousands of new technologies were rapidly developed and deployed almost overnight. We'll know we may have a chance against carbon emissions when we start seeing something similar in the form of a massive green energy boom. Right now most investment is still in dirty technologies with, at best, a trickle of money going into solar, wind, batteries, grid improvements, electric cars, conservation, high speed rail, and other transitions to carbon free tech. Let's fight any *new investment* in fossil fuels — not just a few pipelines but *all of it*. This means, if you're saving up for retirement or whatever, do the research, find out if *any* of your money is invested in fossil fuels, and if so, move your damn funds! Same with your bank: find out if your bank invests in fossil fuels, and if so, get



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meaninglessness and towards cooperation, diversity, mutual aid and engagement. Each step forward can make the next step easier as together we reclaim a future worth living that is sustainable and in harmony with the earth. Deliberately and meaningfully dealing with climate change will allow us to stay calm and focused so we can keep forward momentum.

systems were inevitable and permanent, too, but both were swept away.

We're at another historical tipping point — corporate capitalism has run its course. The difference this time is that these oppressive structures have exceeded the earth's limits — we're in a race to kill capitalism before it kills us. Systems and historical epochs don't change on their own, and many people will

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Slingshot is always looking for new writers, artists, editors, photographers, translators, distributors, etc. to make this paper. If you send an article, please be open to editing.

We're a collective but not all the articles reflect the opinions of all collective members. We welcome debate and constructive criticism.

Thanks to the people who made this: Davey, Devin, Dov, eggplant, Elke, Fern, Gerald, Hayley, Indiana Joe, Isabel, Jesse, Joey, Joey Provolone, Korvin, Laundro-Matt, Sam, and all the authors and artists!

Slingshot New Volunteer Meeting

Volunteers interested in getting involved with Slingshot can come to the new volunteer meeting on Saturday, December 10, 2017 at 7 pm at the Long Haul in Berkeley (see below.)

Article Deadline & Next Issue Date

Submit your articles for issue 126 by January 13, 2018 at 3 pm.

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meaninglessness and towards cooperation, diversity, mutual aid and engagement. Each step forward can make the next step easier as together we reclaim a future worth living that is sustainable and in harmony with the earth. Deliberately and meaningfully dealing with climate change will allow us to stay calm and focused so we can keep forward momentum. There's a world to be won in this transition, and nothing to lose.

But right now, what can you do to make a difference? Sure, you can strive to live a low-

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carbon lifestyle, boycott cars and meat, but still, even if you get your personal carbon footprint down to zero, all around you people are still pumping carbon into the atmosphere like they're on a suicide mission and plan to take out the whole planet with them. We don't get to have hope that climate change will be avoided — that ship has sailed. If we're going to get out of this capitalist planetary death wish with anything resembling a habitable planet left, we're going to need a diversity of tactics.

On a psychic level, we need to hold in our heart how success looks — a world where people get what they need, where our lives aren't serving a system at odds with the earth, but where people serve their own needs and the needs of those around the and the earth.

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We're at another historical tipping point — corporate capitalism has run its course. The difference this time is that these oppressive structures have exceeded the earth's limits — we're in a race to kill capitalism before it kills us. Systems and historical epochs don't change on their own, and many people will cling to the old ways until the last moment. This shift requires fearless, humble, clever humans willing to fight like hell.

We need to continually test for weak spots and run with whatever works — being flexible and willing to accept alternatives that may only be partial answers but still move us forward.

It's time to talk about taboo topics — like encouraging people to have fewer children or none at all for the next few generations to take pressure off the earth. Like supporting more urban density which dramatically reduces emissions, even when doing so changes things we love about how our cities are now. Like pointing out that rebuilding houses in hurricane country or in flood plains is crazy given near certainty that violent weather events will increase — people may need to move. Like admitting that bike sharing programs cut emissions and keep cars off the

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How frequently do we write to our climate scientists and thank them for their work? Recently, Hayley was speaking to a climate scientist friend who informed her of the incredible amount of hate mail that he and his colleagues receive. At least once a week, he'll get a threatening email from a climate change denier. Climate scientists often work at public universities, so their contact info is online. Send them thank you letters—it will really help their morale! And while you're at it, give yourself a treat, too. Maybe a walk amongst trees or find some friends to sing with. Let's celebrate the awesome beauty of being alive on this living planet as we work to keep it that way!

Circulation information

Subscriptions to Slingshot are free to prisoners, low income, or anyone in the USA with a Slingshot Organizer, or \$1 per issue. International \$3 per issue. Outside the Bay Area we'll mail you a free stack of copies if you give them out for free. Say how many copies and how long you'll be at your address. In the Bay Area pick up copies at Long Haul and Bound Together books, SF.

HUMILITY & WHITENESS

By I Steve

"Catch him at the moment when he is really poor in spirit and smuggle into his mind the gratifying reflection,

"By jove!

I'm being humble", and almost immediately pride



- pride at his own humility - will appear."

A lot of white activist-types can talk our ears off about unconscious racial bias, micro-aggressions, and privilege, but are still gosh-darn twits. Is the problem that they have to try harder, read every article in *Everyday Feminism*? Or is there something deeper? Is it not good enough to have a list of exceptions where you don't act like you're better than other people: anti-racism, anti-sexism, and anti-homophobia?

How are there decent-hearted people with terrible prejudices, and assholes with perfect politics? "I'm an anti-racist asshole. Why don't people of color like me? Why doesn't everyone like me?" Because you're still an asshole!

What's missing is basic humility. It's not just

All true, but look at us. We demand our demands be met. We no longer believe in "scientific" socialism, but we know our logic is flawless; we are right. Drawn to the cause by Dr. King and Che Guevara, why would I want to be a foot soldier or a shit-worker? Or I may reject mass organizing with its leaders and followers—I'm a free ego unencumbered by ancestors, culture, anything but my desires. While that approach appeals to the young-at-heart in all-of-us, it risks obliviousness to our interdependence, another form of arrogance.

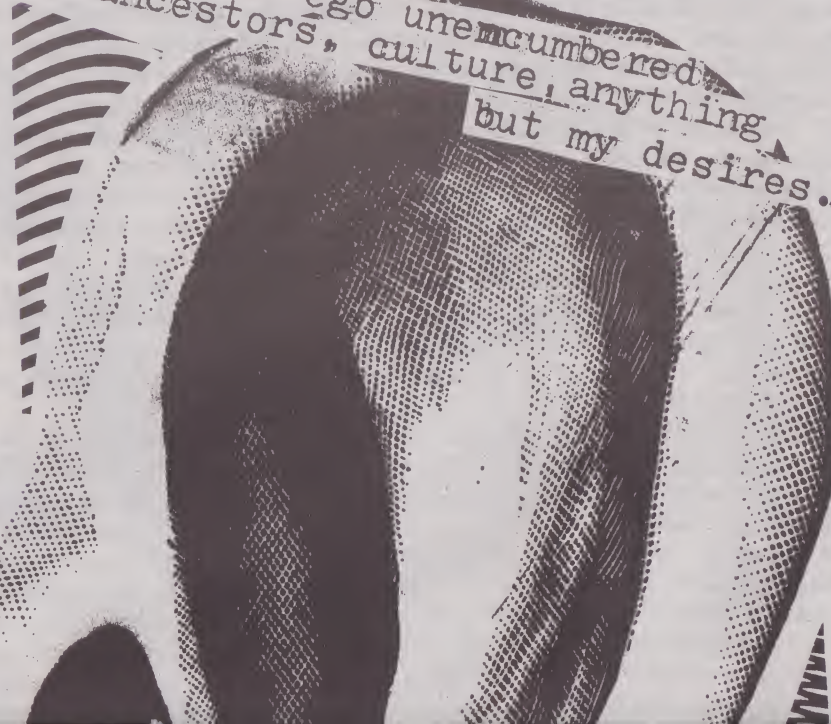
Part of the activist identity is anti-Racism. Since I'm such a great activist, I'm a great anti-racist. So yup, if you tell me I did something disrespectful or ignorant, I'll put you in your place to protect my ego. That's why allies—or accomplices or whatever word the Internet says distinguishes us from those allies—can be so much more fragile than ordinary white people with twisted minds and good hearts.

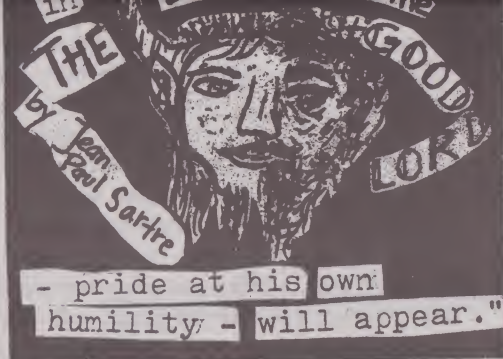
Instead, I can realize I have more to learn. The *Urban Dictionary's* entry on humility:

"Remaining teachable, knowing that you do not have all the answers." Their example: "I had to have a good sense of humility to listen to my teammate's advice, even though I have been playing baseball a lot longer than him." "Veteran protesters" who think Millennial activists don't know anything—do take note.

One thing you can do is think about who you were before you were an activist. Do you remember people practicing humility in your family? In your school? If so, you can find your real self by connecting to your roots. If not, if you were surrounded by arrogance, when did you know? What was your idea of humility that provided that insight? Don't despair. It's common for middle-class families, actually a blend of upper and lower class characteristics, to deny their humble roots out of shame, aspiring to the big time. Even if this is your origin, you can accept yourself.

I'm a free ego unencumbered by ancestors, culture, anything but my desires.





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How are there decent-hearted people with terrible prejudices, and assholes with perfect politics? "I'm an anti-racist asshole. Why don't people of color like me? Why doesn't everyone like me?" Because you're still an asshole!

What's missing is basic humility. It's not just about how to relate to marginalized groups. It's about how you relate to yourself, and your relationship to reality.

White people don't have a monopoly on arrogance. Just as being white doesn't make you racist, it doesn't mean you're arrogant either. But white people collectively are as notorious for arrogance as for racism. That whiteness is intertwined with arrogance is obvious to everyone who isn't an arrogant white person.

Humility, being humble, is usually defined as a lack of fixation on oneself and a deference to others. You've probably heard that humility isn't about self-effacing. It's about self-acceptance. If I don't accept my real self with all my weirdness, I can create a glorious false-self to avoid accepting my real self. For some people, this goes all the way to Narcissistic Personality Disorder.

One of the ways a culture preserves itself is

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Instead, I can realize I have more to learn. The *Urban Dictionary*'s entry on humility:

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HUMILITY: "Remaining teachable, knowing that you do not have all the answers."

Humility is from Religion, and You Hate Jesus, your Mom, and your Buddhist Housemate

Humility is a virtue and core subject in most religions. Religion is an aspect of most

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Do you know anyone, can you think of anyone who you think is humble? They probably are. Notice how you feel in their presence. Learn from them.

Becoming Humble Will Make Little Birds Like You

No joke, animals will be less afraid of you. Including humans who will trust you more. Then you can reach the ears of those people with twisted minds but good hearts. Not a

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HUMILITY: "Remaining teachable, knowing that you do not have all the answers."

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But I'm a 'Radical' who Does Good Things

One of the ways a culture preserves itself is by teaching itself good things about itself, and activist culture is no exception. Our teaching on arrogance is that it is a quality of the mainstream society we oppose. *Those* people try to get lots and lots of money so they can glorify themselves with bigger houses and bigger cars. They grow up wanting to be star athletes, leaders in business and politics, Nobel prize winners and best-selling writers, and foist their bitterness on the rest of us when their dreams evaporate.

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Humility is a virtue and core subject in most religions. Religion is an aspect of most cultures. Humility is a theme in most cultures. Among your many options, you can keep your culture's religion and reject it's idea of humility. You may also reject your religion but keep the humility.

We've watched enough cave-people movies to think humility was for humans before the Era of Reason, cowering before superstition and volcanoes. But that "Era of Reason," the European "Enlightenment," was also the dawn of whiteness. Enlightenment utopias like America were built with the stolen land and slave labor of non-white peoples.

You can listen to others' wisdom and still be an atheist. You can be a humble atheist. An anonymous person explains how humility is why atheists paradoxically succeed in Twelve-Steps programs: "The steps work if you believe in God. The steps work if you do not believe in God. The steps do not work if you think you are God."

Can You Tell Me How to be Humble?

There's a whole lot written on humility and how to be humble spanning the whole world and three millennia. What about special humility for radicals? The whole point of this is that we need the basic humility that everyone else can do.

Do you know anyone, can you think of anyone who you think is humble? They probably are. Notice how you feel in their presence. Learn from them.

Becoming Humble Will Make Little Birds Like You

No joke, animals will be less afraid of you. Including humans who will trust you more. Then you can reach the ears of those people with twisted minds but good hearts. Not a tourist in your own neighborhood, whether in Fruitvale, Oakland or on Park Avenue, NY. Even where you are a stranger, you might still belong.

Humility has been described as the foundation of other virtues. When you can see yourself as you are, there's a feedback loop so you just get more awesome.

Humility has been described as the foundation of other virtues.



MUSHROOMS made me SOBER

By Isabel Fava Bean

On a sunny Saturday in the spring of 2015 I found myself talking to a redwood tree. I was tripping on mushrooms at a local park with a couple of UC Berkeley students and one of them, a bio major, was trying to convince me that plants don't have feelings. Naturally, I abandoned the group I was with and walked off to converse with some plants. And who better to converse with than the tallest plant on earth, the coast redwood? I sat down in the gnarled roots of one redwood, my back against her bark, and gazed up at her neighbor. I began to listen. "Mushroom Isabel," she intoned, as the blue sky behind her swirled, "You need to tell Sober Isabel to stop fuckin' up." I understood immediately that Mushroom Isabel was my shrooming self, and Sober Isabel was myself when I wasn't on shrooms, though that Isabel was hardly sober. The tree told me I needed to refocus on what I truly cared about -- learning sustainable living skills, learning to grow food -- and stop distracting myself with partying, social media, and working in foodservice. It happened to be layout weekend for *Slingshot* #117 and the culmination of my trip was wandering into the *Slingshot* office and falling asleep on the couch while the rest of the collective was scrambling to get the paper laid out.

It was during that spring that my friends started talking to me about their experiences of boundary violations and rape. I read that 1 in 3 women are raped or abused in their lifetimes. I couldn't help but feel it was only a matter of

But to see that my substance use fit into large scale social patterns of oppression and violence was, for me, a compelling reason not to partake.

I had been working the night shift at a bakery, going out a lot, drinking and dabbling with other drugs. I broke my dad's trust by throwing parties at his house and got formally called out at work for using drugs on the clock. All of the above had been building in my mind, I guess, because around my 20th birthday, I quit my job, stopped drinking, and set off on a 450-mile bike tour down the California coast. It's been over two years and I haven't touched drugs or alcohol since then, but I often think of what that redwood told me during that mushroom trip, reminding me to stay focused on what I know is important.

I had originally intended to write an article condemning any use of substances, restating many of the arguments in "Toward a Less Fucked Up World". But I realize that nobody who uses and enjoys substances wants to read about how everything they're doing is wrong. And I do see some positive aspects of substance use.

So, after discussions with a few of the people closest to me who enjoy substances, I attempted to step outside my judgements and brainstormed a list of the potential positive impacts of intoxication culture on our lives. I acknowledge and respect the sacred roles that some substances play in many traditional cultures. Substances can be wonderful medicines. I think it can be healthy and



an average lower body weight, means "women" are more likely to have lower alcohol tolerance. Amongst young people, especially punks and bros, drinking more, faster is a point of pride, which pushes the most vulnerable people to drink past their limits. In my mind, some rape and boundary violations are the inevitable result of the combination of a culture

rampant, like on college campuses. Directing this suggestion just at female-identified folks echoes victim-blaming narratives -- I direct it equally at male-identified folks. And of course we must continue to fight rape culture on all levels, not only in our personal choices.

Intoxication culture also has strong ties to consumer culture. The tobacco and alcohol industries are fat with the profits from our addictions and hold powerful positions in Amerika the Corporatocracy. The cannabis industry is set to take its place next to them, providing yet another packaged substance, taxed, regulated, and industrially produced and marketed. We all know that industrial, corporate food is killing the environment and the people who consume it, and that disadvantaged people and ecosystems are the hardest hit -- let's extend that critique to the systems that produce substances on a global, commercial scale. Some radicals see intoxication as a form of resistance to capitalist values of productivity, but this is a myth. Spending money on booze and drugs only ties us closer to the rat wheel. I know too many punks who work jobs they hate and spend much of their hard earned cash on booze, weed, and cigarettes -- largely so they can forget about their crappy jobs for the weekend. Fuck that.

On a personal level, substances can be coping mechanisms for issues we might otherwise be challenged to address. They can numb us, keep us content and apathetic when

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time until I went through the same. The one common factor in each of my friends' experiences was intoxication. Both they and their rapists were under the influence -- usually alcohol, sometimes molly or another drug. And intoxication wasn't just incidental -- it was sometimes part and parcel to the rape: "He kept offering me alcohol until I was too wasted to resist."

Around this time a sober coworker gave me a zine called "Toward A Less Fucked Up World: Sobriety and Anarchist Struggle" by Nick Riotfag. Holy shit! Reading this zine blew my mind. It drew connections that hadn't occurred to me before -- connections between

positive to conscientiously use drugs and alcohol to self-medicate for struggles we face that we cannot change, or that we need help to change. Alcohol might act as a social lubricant that helps us get out of our shell as we build the confidence to eventually express ourselves without it. And when being constantly aware of the pain and injustice in the world incapacitates us, substances might help us take a break and relax just long enough to gather our strength and jump back into radical projects. I think it's important to recognize how fucking insane the world is right now, and not hold ourselves to rigid standards of sanity and logic all the time -- we need to chill, to be

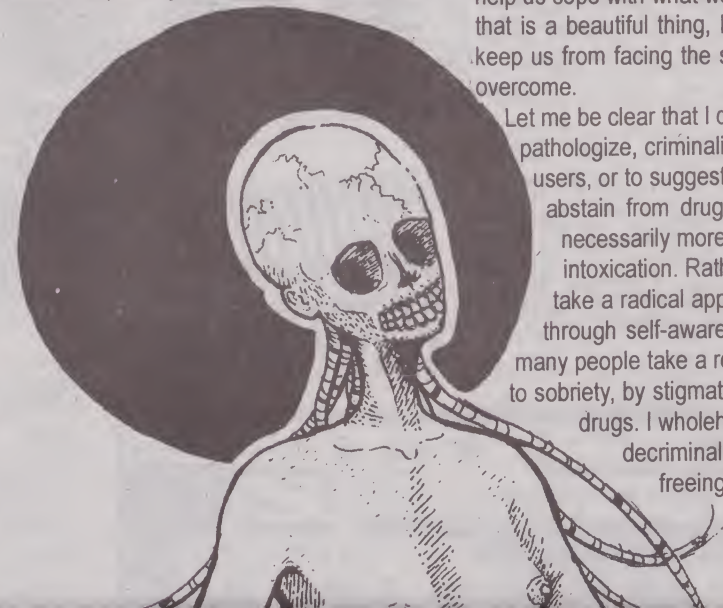


an average lower body weight, means "women" are more likely to have lower alcohol tolerance. Amongst young people, especially punks and bros, drinking more, faster is a point of pride, which pushes the most vulnerable people to drink past their limits. In my mind, some rape and boundary violations are the inevitable result of the combination of a culture of heavy drinking, the differences in the way that alcohol affects people, and the social expectations around sex. Logical ways to address this on a personal level are to reject social norms and redefine our sexualities using the language of consent, and to drink less or not at all, especially in spaces where rape is

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On a personal level, substances can be coping mechanisms for issues we might otherwise be challenged to address. They can numb us, keep us content and apathetic when faced with our own pain and trauma, global injustice, and environmental collapse. The popular narrative justifying intoxication culture says that we are using substances to "have fun" or "celebrate". This avoids any awareness that attraction to substance use often comes from deep emotional wounds. Substances can help us cope with what we cannot change, and that is a beautiful thing, but we can't let them keep us from facing the struggles that we can overcome.

Let me be clear that I do not wish to pathologize, criminalize, or condemn drug users, or to suggest that everyone should abstain from drugs or that sobriety is necessarily more radical than intoxication. Rather, I believe one can take a radical approach to intoxication, through self-awareness, and of course many people take a reactionary approach to sobriety, by stigmatizing and criminalizing drugs. I wholeheartedly believe in the decriminalization of drugs and freeing of those locked up for



DRUGS LESS OFTEN BECAUSE THEY FEEL ACCEPTED, APPRECIATED, AND BRAVE ENOUGH TO FACE THE DEMONS THEY CARRY.

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making their communities alcohol-free was a central demand of Zapatista women that continues to be honored in EZLN territory today.

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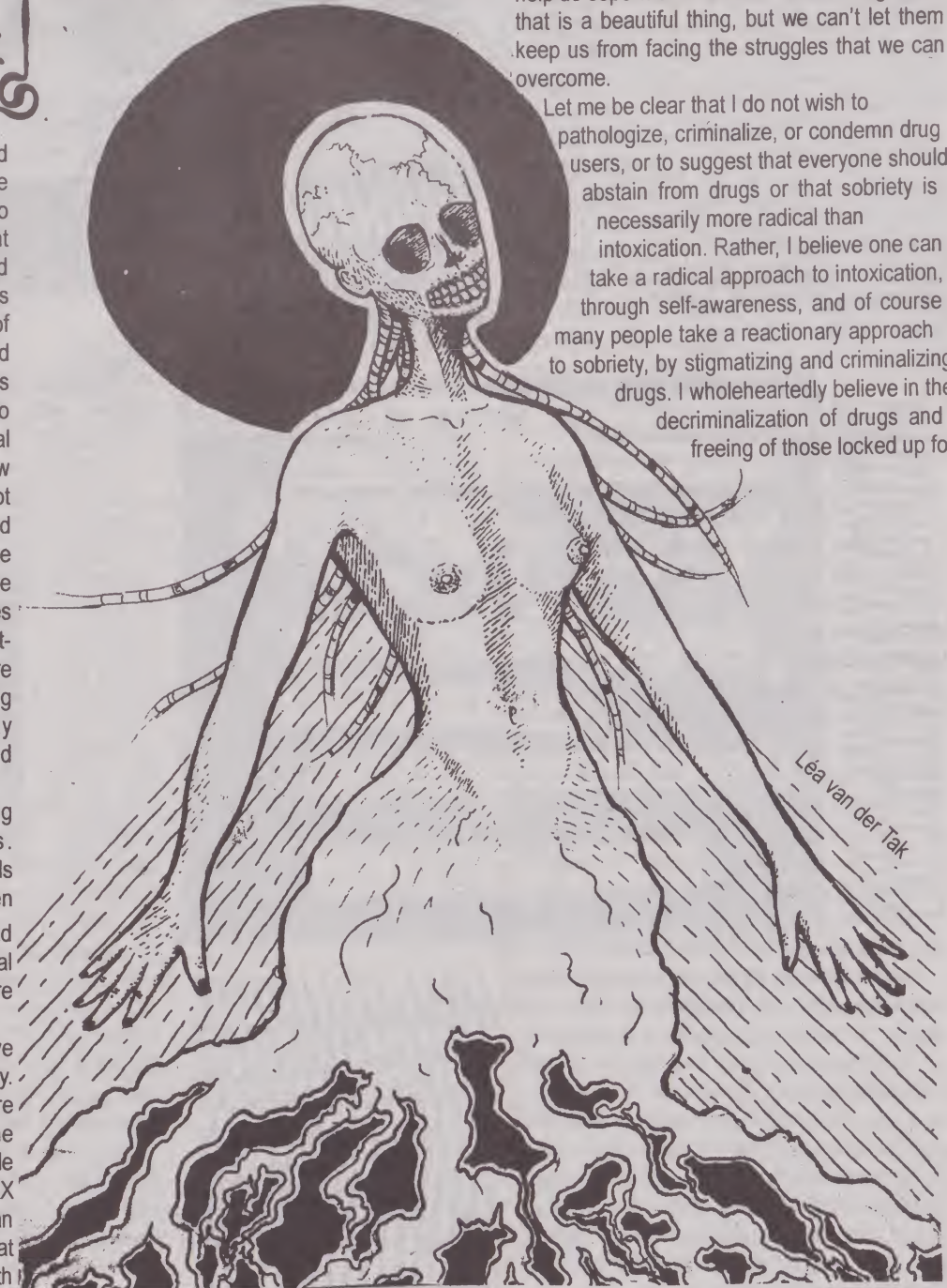
I know substances have been radicalizing and mind-opening for many folks. Psychedelics in particular have sparked friends of mine, and I'm sure many others, to open their eyes to the beauty of the natural world and our place within it and to question social norms and the values and lifestyles they were raised with.

I also brainstormed a list of the negative impacts of intoxication culture in our society. The connections between intoxication culture and rape culture are sharp. According to The Scientific American, when compared to people with XY chromosomes ("men"), people with XX chromosomes ("women") are deficient in an enzyme called alcohol dehydrogenase that helps us metabolize alcohol. This, coupled with

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drug related crimes. I would like us to examine our substance use, or lack thereof, and consider the personal and political effects of our choices. Despite the prominent straightedge current within punk, I feel this subject largely goes undiscussed in radical circles -- and I suspect that many of us are using substances not after thoughtful consideration, but merely because substance use is normalized and expected in our social circles.

CONSCIENTIOUS INTOXICATION

Regarding approaching substance use through a radical lens, what can we actually do, tonight, tomorrow, to intoxicate in positive and conscientious ways? Here are some ideas -- add your own!

Let's DIY substances the way we DIY music, art, and radical organizing. Lots of us already do this. Brew your own beer. Distill your own booze. Mushroom hunt. Grow weed or opium poppies. If you gotta buy drugs, source them ethically. Decommmercialize your drug use. Trade and give drugs away instead of buying and selling. Or barter for other goods. Dumpster dive for booze and drugs at college campuses on move-out day.

When we're at bars and parties, let's regulate our own levels of intoxication. Let's watch those around us, and respectfully check in with people who are wasted, see what they need. Make sure they are safe. We can prevent individual instances of rape, drunk

By Jesse D. Palmer

The world feels like it's crumbling around us, and not just because climate change and the sixth extinction are becoming personal and undeniable. What's particularly disturbing is that the cultural and social glue that humans need to live together is fraying. We're losing the ability to tolerate other people who are different from us. We're losing the ability to talk. This sadly is not just a comment about right wing racists. My friends and community are radicals and anarchists — I'm talking about us as well as the racists as well as plenty of other people we all bump into everyday.

Our response to these extreme times has to be extreme, but not in the way a lot of people are thinking. It's time to focus on why we're

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When we're at bars and parties, let's regulate our own levels of intoxication. Let's watch those around us, and respectfully check in with people who are wasted, see what they need. Make sure they are safe. We can prevent individual instances of rape, drunk driving and other fucked up shit by being aware and taking care of each other. Cultivate safer spaces and spaces where intoxication is an option but sobriety is also socially acceptable. Let's use substances to cope with what is beyond our control and to feel okay so we can stay engaged in radical struggle. Let's let ourselves feel shitty sometimes and do that with substances when we need to. When we allow ourselves to feel shitty, we can begin to identify what is wrong and what we might need to change.

**RADICAL =
= SOBRIETY**

Sober people can frame their sobriety through a radical lens. Some ideas: We can respect everyone's personal choices by not preaching. We can support comrades who are trying to use less substances by sharing our own experiences, and hanging out with them sober. Let's consider how we could change our interactions so that people need drugs less often because they feel accepted, appreciated, and brave enough to face whatever demons they carry. Let's learn harm reduction skills and

Love is all you need

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Our response to these extreme times has to be extreme, but not in the way a lot of people are thinking. It's time to focus on why we're against racism, why we're against oppression — which is fundamentally because of love, not because of what and who we're against.

Starting with love means remembering that we love everyone and everything as well as ourselves. Being in such a state of universal love can be hard, but it is achievable. In my

sort of refuge or bandaid. This stress feeds the rise of tribalism, alt right nationalism and fundamentalist religious movements, as well as radical scenes that are not tender, that are not welcoming or generous or safe.

Right now we need to fight oppression and struggle against ecological collapse while being particularly careful to avoid making

WE ARE ALL ASTRONAUTS

heart, when I take time to feel deeply, I have too much love to bear. Most of the time while we're going about our daily lives we have to suppress the love so we can get stuff done. But it is there and it is the central powerful life force that enables everything. I'm talking about awe seeing the morning light, contemplating a tree, thinking about how much we love our housemates, our children, the members of our collective, riding a bike on a warm day, eating a delicious lunch, making love, building a treehouse, looking at pictures of old friends, staring at the Milky Way, watching people at the next table at the restaurant laughing together even though we've never met them and our backgrounds are totally different. The feeling of universal love goes back to nature. We are all

intolerance and social division worse. We must resist racists and fight their ideas, yet avoid dehumanizing anyone no matter how wrong their actions may be.

There is a big picture we're missing. The tiny elite who are profiting from killing the planet want to keep us divided and fighting amongst ourselves because it distracts us from building an alternative to a system which requires inequality, which requires destroying the earth, and which is organized by competition and violence, not cooperation and humanity. We need to stay focused on fighting those systems.

Self-hatred is an emotion behind a lot of destructive human behavior because —

earth will be okay. People might not be okay — maybe probably won't be okay. That is scary to me. Let it sink in but don't let it paralyze you or cause you to turn away from life and love. At my best moments, I love myself which means I love human beings and the good things we've created enough to fight to keep human society going against the odds. People are complex and sure we're responsible for a lot of terrible stuff — oppression, genocide, ecological domination.

But there is plenty to love about humans and our social formations — parts of our rich diverse beautiful cultures, our music, our learning, our art. And just our simple day-to-day lives with all the small pleasures and moments we experience.

Now is the time to keep our eyes on why we want to save the world. That tenderness can give us the courage and eloquence we need to communicate and resonate with others. Most people love being alive — it is an intense rush. We don't need a lot of fancy jargon, gymnastic mental justifications or economic theories to figure out why living is fun and worthwhile and why human communities are worth trying to preserve and improve. From the big picture we can move to particular movements against

THE EARTH WILL BE OK

an option but sobriety is also socially acceptable. Let's use substances to cope with what is beyond our control and to feel okay so we can stay engaged in radical struggle. Let's

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I present these ideas less as a doctrine and more as a spark for discussion. A PDF of *Toward A Less Fucked Up World* is available online. Write to *Slingshot* and let's talk! The most important thing is for all of us, whether we choose to use substances or not, to continue educating ourselves and each other about the ways in which those in power use intoxication culture to reinforce their dominance -- and to fight that dominance on every front.

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We need to start our activism and our revolution with love and let it infect and inform everything we're doing. A lot of activist burnout and a lot of the failures of our movements are because activism gets stuck in the mud and thinks too small. Our actions feel harsh, based on guilt, based on anger, based on division, sometimes edging towards violence. In the activist scene, I sometimes feel scared to say or write what I really think. This is not a way we can win. These dynamics keep us distracted from understanding the big picture and tackling the big issues that underlie and structure the wars, the oppression, the economic inequality, and the ecological disasters.

People are struggling with change that's too fast, with a lack of meaning, with isolation, and with too much technology, which is leading to psychological disorder as we struggle for some

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There is a big picture we're missing. The tiny elite who are profiting from killing the planet want to keep us divided and fighting amongst ourselves because it distracts us from building an alternative to a *system* which *requires* inequality, which *requires* destroying the earth, and which is organized by competition and violence, not cooperation and humanity. We need to stay focused on fighting those systems.

Self-hatred is an emotion behind a lot of destructive human behavior because —

THE EARTH WILL BE OK PEOPLE MIGHT NOT

unable to love oneself — one is unable to love the world, the trees and the oceans, and anyone perceived as different. Self-hatred and emotional shut-down that interferes with all of our ability to tap into the love that is within us is something everyone has to work on all the time.

Let's train ourselves to spread and grow love. It can help to start with feelings of love that are outside you — your feelings of love for places or things or people — and let that grow until it becomes a habit and can feed upon itself. Eventually once love is strong enough in your heart and free enough that it floats near the surface, it shines back upon you.

The earth is hurting because of people and our machines and capitalism — but really the

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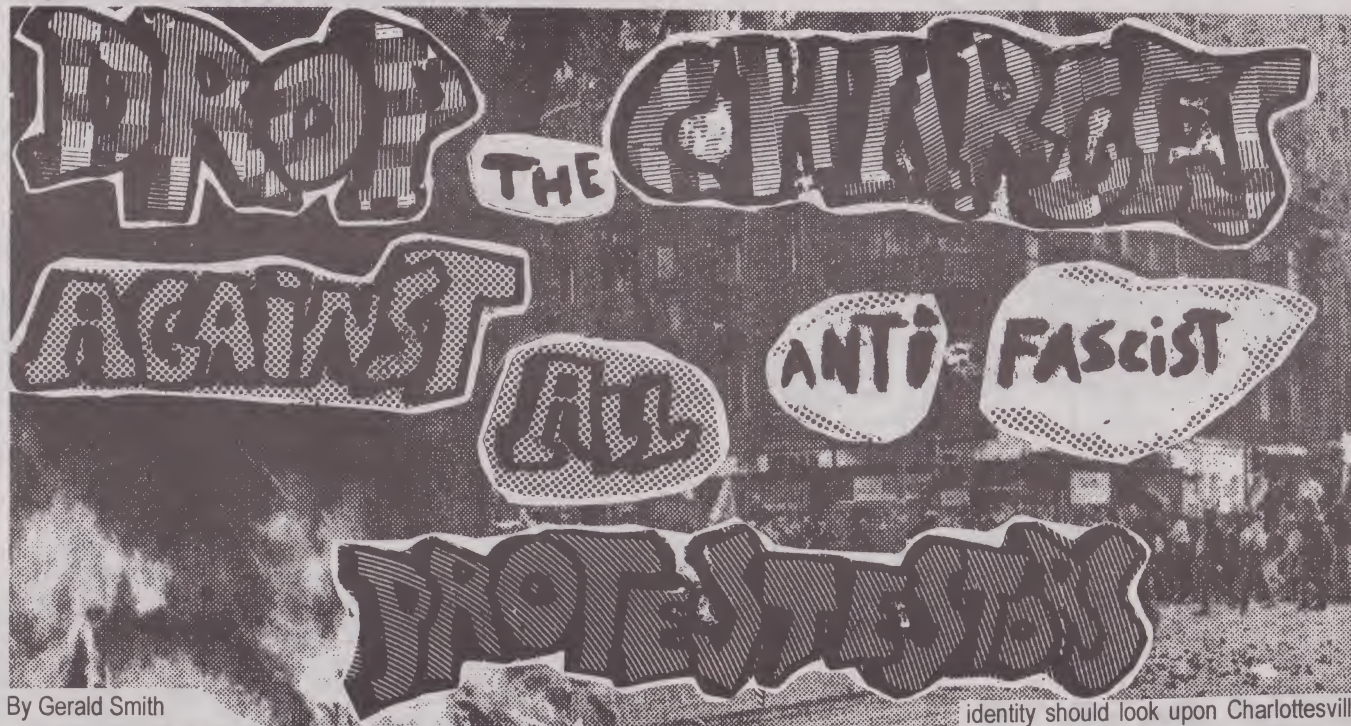
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police killings, against pipelines, for people getting the food and housing and healthcare they need, for freedom and justice and for ecological sustainability.

The earth is what unites us all. Avoiding damage to the environment may be our biggest challenge, but it could also be the wake up call that forces us to grow up as a species and cast off sloppy earth-killing structures built only on greed.

If we start with love, we can try to make stuff better even though we recognize that we make mistakes — that we aren't always good or loving ourselves. No one is perfect. We need to approach that reality with self-love, not shame but rather compassion and acceptance. Then we need to try to do better.



By Gerald Smith

We've got a problem.

In spite of the fact that the American workers have trounced the fragments of fascism all over this land from Boston to Charlottesville to the San Francisco Bay Area, too many Anti-Fascist fighters are under indictment. There is a crying need for a public organization to support these Anti-Fascists.

In Central California, three Anti-Fascists have been indicted in Sacramento in relation to the smashing and scattering of the attempted "Unite the Right" Rally on June 26th: Yvette Felarca of By Any Means Necessary (\$20,000 bail), Mike Williams of the Brown Berets (\$250,000 bail), and Porfirio Paz. Mention of bail amounts is not done to melt the gentle snowflake but to harden the resolve of the conscious Anti-Fascist.

In Berkeley the number of arrestees has ballooned since the "Anti-Hate" rallies in August and September of this year. In one of the more serious cases Eric Clanton was arrested (\$200,000 bail). The "Berkeley 5" Dustin Sawtelle, Jeffrey Armstrong, Scott

and denounced by the corporate media.

Loss of life is a reasonable measure as to whom is actually causing harm to our society. Consider the following:

Richard Collins, a black man, was killed at the University of Maryland by Sean Ubanski (Ubanski is affiliated with the Facebook page Alt-Reich Nation).

On May 26, 2017, Jeremy Joseph Christian fatally stabbed two people and injured a third on a train in Portland, Ore., after he was confronted for yelling a gamut of anti-Muslim slurs at two young women.

Heather Heyer was killed and 19 others injured by James Alex Fields who drove his car into a crowd of Anti-Fascist protestors on August 12, 2017 in Charlottesville.

And there are more, many more. According to Political Research Associates: "The U.S. Far Right has killed nearly 450 people since 1990. Heather Heyer of Charlottesville, Virginia is the latest casualty of White nationalism. We can honor the sacrifice of the

identity should look upon Charlottesville as a call to moral action in defense of humanity and rejection of White supremacy."

The fascists have murdered scores of Americans. How many Americans have been killed by Antifa?

Zero.

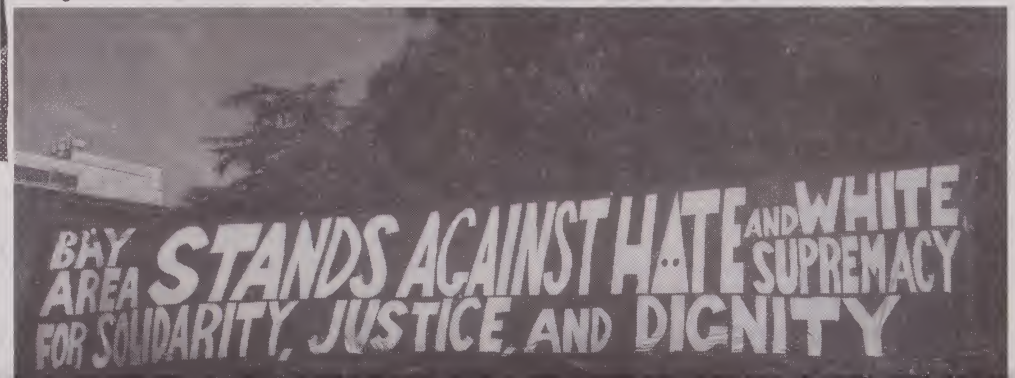
Cornel West, among others, has publicly stated that when the fascists surrounded a black church in Charlottesville, the Antifa saved his life. If there is any doubt of the racist danger we're facing, consider the beating of a

young black man, Deandre Harris.

Since 40,000 people showed up in Boston to meet 50 fascists, the Hitler-lovers have canceled every rally they have called. But they have not disappeared. The fascists have joined the Republican Party on the campus of UC Berkeley which gives them access to money -- lots of money. The fascists have also created numerous fronts and allied with various right-wing organizations (Red Elephant, Proud Boys, Patriot Prayer, Identity Evropa, etc.). While not every member of these allied organization is a fascist, they are clearly fascist collaborators. Our strategy and tactics should be adjusted to allow our activities to become more effective. Here is something we can do to aid the growing list of Anti-Fascists presently under indictment: Let's create an online petition campaign aimed at the cities of Berkeley, San Francisco, and Sacramento that demands that the charges against all Anti-Fascists be dropped.

Our lever is the fact that after the events in Charlottesville, Trump was denounced by the Democrats for equating the Alt right/fascists with Anti-Fascist protesters. OK. These cities are run by the Democrats. Did they really mean what they said? Let's put them to the test.

WORKERS OF THE WORLD WILL RISE AGAIN! FASCISM NEVER!



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We've got a problem.

In spite of the fact that the American workers have trounced the fragments of fascism all over this land from Boston to Charlottesville to the San Francisco Bay Area, too many Anti-Fascist fighters are under indictment. There is a crying need for a public organization to support these Anti-Fascists.

In Central California, three Anti-Fascists have been indicted in Sacramento in relation to the smashing and scattering of the attempted "Unite the Right" Rally on June 26th: Yvette Felarca of By Any Means Necessary (\$20,000 bail), Mike Williams of the Brown Berets (\$250,000 bail), and Porfirio Paz. Mention of bail amounts is not done to melt the gentle snowflake but to harden the resolve of the conscious Anti-Fascist.

In Berkeley the number of arrestees has ballooned since the "Anti-Hate" rallies in August and September of this year. In one of the more serious cases Eric Clanton was arrested (\$200,000 bail). The "Berkeley 5" Dustin Sawtelle, Jeffrey Armstrong, Scott Hendrick, Taylor Fuller, Nathan Perry have also been arrested. There are more.

These outrageous bails beg the question as to the actual role the state is playing. Are the police protecting citizens or is this a form of political repression? To look at the facts and ask the question is to answer it. Here are a few examples:

* Department of Homeland Security agents allowed an Oath Keeper (right-winger) to assist in the arrest of an anti-fascist protester providing handcuffs in the arrest.

* "Liberty Revival Alliance" Rich Black's right-wing coalition was meeting with Berkeley police ahead of March 4 and April 15 actions (both of which were unpermitted, but police facilitated them anyway).

* Numerous instances of the police collaborating with alt-right trolls in a doxing, internet harassment campaign.

The events in Charlottesville greatly

"The U.S. far right has killed nearly 450 people since 1990."

and denounced by the corporate media.

Loss of life is a reasonable measure as to whom is actually causing harm to our society. Consider the following:

Richard Collins, a black man, was killed at the University of Maryland by Sean Ubanski (Ubanski is affiliated with the Facebook page Alt-Reich Nation).

On May 26, 2017, Jeremy Joseph Christian fatally stabbed two people and injured a third on a train in Portland, Ore., after he was confronted for yelling a gamut of anti-Muslim slurs at two young women.

Heather Heyer was killed and 19 others injured by James Alex Fields who drove his car into a crowd of Anti-Fascist protestors on August 12, 2017 in Charlottesville.

And there are more, many more. According to Political Research Associates: "The U.S. Far Right has killed nearly 450 people since 1990. Heather Heyer of Charlottesville, Virginia is the latest casualty of White nationalism. We can honor the sacrifice of the dead and wounded by matching their courage in standing down similar rallies planned for the weeks ahead. Equally important, we can defend members of our communities who are under attack. People of good conscience, regardless of party affiliation, faith tradition, or

identity should look upon Charlottesville as a call to moral action in defense of humanity and rejection of White supremacy."

The fascists have murdered scores of Americans. How many Americans have been killed by Antifa?

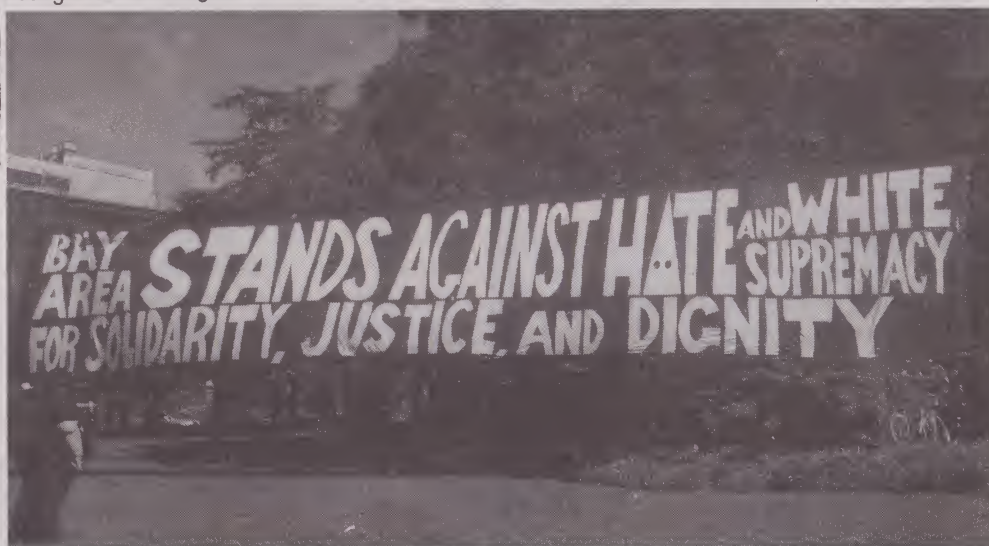
Zero.

Cornel West, among others, has publicly stated that when the fascists surrounded a black church in Charlottesville, the Antifa saved his life. If there is any doubt of the racist danger we're facing, consider the beating of a

campaign aimed at the cities of Berkeley, San Francisco, and Sacramento that demands that the charges against all Anti-Fascists be dropped.

Our lever is the fact that after the events in Charlottesville, Trump was denounced by the Democrats for equating the Alt right/fascists with Anti-Fascist protesters. OK. These cities are run by the Democrats. Did they really mean what they said? Let's put them to the test.

WORKERS OF THE WORLD WILL RISE AGAIN! FASCISM NEVER!



-A PUBLIC STATEMENT-

FROM AN ANTIFA Arrestee.

Continued from Page 1

harassment in the wake of the April 15 engagement in Berkeley. As a result of these accusation made by white-supremacists on the internet, two houses were raided by over a dozen cops with guns drawn, several doors were smashed in, and Eric was arrested, charged with four felonies and held at \$200,000 bail. All of this in response to a story

Vallejo in March of this year in an incident that was filmed. Jesse Buna, one of the people filming, was also arrested and both face charges of assault on an officer. The message here is clear: any resistance to white supremacy and the police can make you a physical and a legal target. In fact, white-supremacists are so embedded in local police agencies that the FBI refuses to share information on white supremacist organizing with local law enforcement.

Washington D.C. simply because corporate property was damaged. Hundreds more are facing charges for protecting indigenous water and land by resisting the Dakota Access Pipeline. Not only does this create trauma and anxiety for defendants and their loved ones, but it ripples out to create fear and hesitation for anyone who chooses to resist. Especially those who will not let power prescribe for them how they resist.

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police protecting citizens or is this a form of political repression? To look at the facts and ask the question is to answer it. Here are a few examples:

* Department of Homeland Security agents allowed an Oath Keeper (right-winger) to assist in the arrest of an anti-fascist protester providing handcuffs in the arrest.

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increased the chances of getting all the charges dropped both in the Berkeley and Sacramento cases and simultaneously going on the offensive against the fascists about what they truly are, what they truly stand for, and that they do indeed stand for, advocate and practice mass mayhem and murder.

With the Democrats having piled on to condemn Trump's deliberately equivocal casting of blame — and some prominent Republicans condemning Trump as well (and reportedly the Navy chief also taking a nominally decent stand) — a skillfully run defense movement and political education campaign in California will make it very hard for the Democratic establishment to press forward with court charges.

The fascists' attempts to paint themselves as defenders of free speech can now be politically shredded (despite the past mistakes of some antifa including the Black Block in over-emphasizing physical confrontation at the expense of mass political education).

In spite of Trump's self-exposure on this matter, Antifa has continued to be condemned

under attack. People of good conscience regardless of party affiliation, faith tradition, or

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Continued from Page 1

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Furthermore, one year after antifascists shut down a neo-nazi demonstration in Sacramento, three counter-protesters were arrested and held on up to \$250,000 dollars in bail. Two of them were brought all the way from southern California. These are just the most publicized examples of a phenomenon that is much broader in scope, even locally. Dozens of other arrestees are facing charges in connection with this year's actions in Berkeley and across the country, and investigations will certainly continue. What happened to Eric can happen in reverse too. When the state criminalizes antifascists their names become public and they are at risk of being targeted for threats and harassment by the alt-right.

It is also essential to remember that repression is NOT new, not unique, and not just something that happens when there are confrontations in the streets. Dejuan Hall was brutally beaten and arrested by the police in

Vallejo in March of this year in an incident that was filmed. Jesse Buna, one of the people filming, was also arrested and both face charges of assault on an officer. The message here is clear: any resistance to white supremacy and the police can make you a physical and a legal target. In fact, white-supremacists are so embedded in local police agencies that the FBI refuses to share information on white supremacist organizing with local law enforcement.

This is the effect of strategies by both the right and the state to make the streets more dangerous for people who would resist the Trump regime. These strategies go beyond the jails and courts too. Months before Heather Heyer was murdered in the streets of Charlottesville by a member of the neo-nazi group American Vanguard, state legislators were working to legitimize violence against those who protested in the street. 7-8 state houses introduced legislation that would limit liability for people running their cars through protestors in the street. Moreover, laws across the country have been passed or introduced to limit constraints on police, and stiffen penalties for protestors. Just this month the Berkeley city council voted to allow police to deploy pepper spray against protestors.

Repression is coming down hard in this time across the country. The state is responding to the strength of our organizing. In addition to the dozens of antifascist defendants in California, more than two hundred people are facing years of prison time for protesting Trump's inauguration in

Washington D.C. simply because corporate property was damaged. Hundreds more are facing charges for protecting indigenous water and land by resisting the Dakota Access Pipeline. Not only does this create trauma and anxiety for defendants and their loved ones, but it ripples out to create fear and hesitation for anyone who chooses to resist. Especially those who will not let power prescribe for them how they resist.

Now more than ever it is essential to support anti-fascist defendants and all targets of repression. These are all attempts to criminalize and deter the growing momentum of organized resistance, all attempts to create feelings of hopelessness, to remind us that the state will always be bigger and more powerful than we are. This hopelessness breeds the complicity that state power thrives on. We know better, we know that the people will always be bigger, and will always be more powerful when we stand together. Solidarity is our strength, so continued resistance in this time must mean standing together against our common enemies. It must mean standing behind and with people who are targeted by the right and by the state. It must mean standing with and organizing with the communities that this fascist movement seeks to victimize and erase.

It must also mean recognizing that solidarity does not erase our tactical and ideological differences, it only gives us more impetus to respect one another despite them. We are not a monolith, we are a hydra. **We are all antifascists!**

An Open Letter to the Antifa

By Arlie Russell Hochschild

We are in the midst of a crisis: signs are appearing of a rise in the US of white supremacy and fascism. I'm old enough to have seen white supremacist violence before. I was a civil rights worker in Mississippi during Freedom Summer in 1964. In June of that summer, three of my fellow workers, Andrew Goodman, James Chaney and Michael Schwerner were murdered by Klansmen and, over the course of the summer, dozens more were badly beaten. Since the lives of those three, and, over the years, many others, ended through right wing violence, some called for left wing violence in response. But leaders with greater foresight prevailed and a powerful civil rights movement changed the nation, rewrote its laws, and enfranchised millions of African Americans who previously had never been able to vote. While much remains to be done, the movement itself was extraordinary, and while various strategies were pursued, under the leadership of Martin Luther King, it was predominantly non-violent.

I recently spent five years getting to know, and write a book about, Tea Party enthusiasts in the heartland of the petrochemical industry in the deep South, people who came to believe in Donald Trump. I discovered that they felt themselves to be — and in many ways were — victims. Their wages are often stagnating or declining, many of their jobs have been automated or offshored, and the air they breathe and the water they drink are grossly polluted. The president cleverly offered them scapegoats for their sense of victimhood: Mexicans, Muslims, black Americans, the mainstream press, and the left. Like Hitler and plenty of other demagogues, Trump understood that appealing to that sense of victimhood was his path to power. And at every step of the way, Fox News, Sinclair Broadcast Group, Rush Limbaugh and others supplied the sound bites and images to reinforce this dark worldview.

When, in a series of skirmishes which broke out earlier this year on and around the U.C. Berkeley campus, an Antifa activist beat an older man wearing in a Trump T-shirt, leaving blood streaming down his face, it was the greatest possible gift to Fox News, and to the Trump/Fox narrative of a victimized right. Who might this anonymous man in the Trump T-shirt be? Who knows, maybe he was one of the estimated six to eight million who voted for Barack Obama in 2012 but voted for Trump in 2016. Or maybe he was one the one out of four — other studies say one out of three — white high school-educated voters who say they would have voted for

UNPACKING
the
ANTIFA

AGAINST
MORAL
POSITIONS

FOR
MARTIN
TACTICS

By P Wingnut and Teresa

Moral debates between violence/non-violence and trying to appeal to the media regarding antifa amidst a rising tide of alt right publicity stunts misses the point. The alt right are setting up situations in which they define the agenda, they pick the time and place, and no matter how anyone reacts they will declare victory.

A lot of people are condemning some antifa (anti-fascist) actions, particularly those in Berkeley in which large black-clad groups have militantly shut down alt-right gatherings. Just as it is wrong to condemn all militant antifa tactics, it's simplistic to automatically support everything and anything antifa—or any particular member of antifa—might decide to do. There are members of antifa who do the right thing, others who make mistakes, and there are probably police agents posing as antifa to harm us.

What's important is effectiveness and acting thoughtfully and strategically — which isn't

than ideologies. We still live in a world in which women are making 77 cents to the man's dollar, in which black people disproportionately fill our prisons and are disproportionately murdered by police. If we are to dismantle the systems of social injustice that surround us, we are going to need to work together on a grand scale. The current efforts of the media and alt-right to divide us undermines our organizing power. We can't let go of our greater visions of a better world as we work to strategically address the rise of fascism in this country.

Flag-waving thugs have a dubious connection with the power structures that are destroying the world and enslaving her

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Bernie Sanders had he won the Democratic Party nomination, but when Sanders lost, voted for Donald Trump instead. 46 percent of American voters voted for Trump and they're not all "deplorable." If we treat them as people to be attacked and beaten, we're treating them as contemptuously as did Hillary Clinton when she used that word. But what they are is caught up in a narrative of victimhood and the search for people and causes to blame.

To bash, punch, or kick a man, to smash a window or light a fire is to make the greatest possible gift to Fox News and to Donald Trump and his unsavory brew of KKK members, neo-

man's dollar, in which black people disproportionately fill our prisons and are disproportionately murdered by police. If we are to dismantle the systems of social injustice that surround us, we are going to need to work together on a grand scale. The current efforts of the media and alt-right to divide us undermines our organizing power. We can't let go of our greater visions of a better world as we work to strategically address the rise of fascism in this country.

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What's important is effectiveness and acting thoughtfully and strategically — which isn't always measured by the toughest or most militant action. Strategy involves questioning our own tactics when necessary. The alt right is trying to provoke violence because they think it will work to their advantage and help expand their numbers, so we need to be careful not to play by their rules, while still acting in self-defense when people are attacked.

It's a mistake to think that by jumping a particular racist extremist, we're having a meaningful effect on the system of white supremacy. If we managed to get rid of all the alt right morons who met in Charlottesville and have been descending on Berkeley, the system of racism would remain.

Antifa members with the courage to act in self-defense are heroes. Antifa also engages in other tactics like blowing bubbles, peaceful chanting, dressing in costumes, participating in comments threads on the internet, etc. In August, Antifa in Boston surrounded an alt-right rally chatting "we can't hear you," shutting it down seemingly without having to throw a punch.

It's important to interrogate the concept of "nonviolence." By holding nonviolence as a fetish, we limit our ability to affect change and allow our movements to be co-opted by business-as-usual liberalism. We have to start looking at these things as tactics rather

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What's important is effectiveness and acting thoughtfully and strategically.

people. These people and their hateful ideas are symptoms of deeper problems. The most dangerous people don't wander the streets — they rule from fancy offices.

Exclusively militant rhetoric and images obscure the complex, nuanced and beautiful simplicity that we're trying to create — a world without rulers based on mutual aid and voluntary cooperation. Escalating violence plays right into the hands of people who thrive to the extent violence—and the hate and fear violence breeds—escalates. We need to stop

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playing into this game. If solidarity has any meaning, it doesn't just mean solidarity within a tiny politically air-tight clique eager to give the middle finger to every working slob who isn't woke.

Solidarity is big, broad, messy and hard because it means working out differences that threaten to divide us so we can focus on the system. This struggle is about stories, conversations, connections, ideas, and building community — and at times militant self-defense against racists.



Bernie Sanders had he won the Democratic Party nomination, but when Sanders lost, voted for Donald Trump instead. 46 percent of American voters voted for Trump and they're not all "deplorable." If we treat them as people to be attacked and beaten, we're treating them as contemptuously as did Hillary Clinton when she used that word. But what they are is caught up in a narrative of victimhood and the search for people and causes to blame.

To bash, punch, or kick a man, to smash a window or light a fire is to make the greatest possible gift to Fox News and to Donald Trump and his unsavory brew of KKK members, neo-Nazis and others whose appeal is based on the narrative of victimhood. When we make such people victims of violence, we reinforce that narrative. We rob the movement against racism and fascism of the high ground through which the civil rights movement transformed America. Since we are indeed facing forces that include outright fascists, it's worth looking closely at how the greatest fascist of them all, Adolf Hitler, came to power. How did he end up as chancellor of Germany in 1933, when, five years earlier, the Nazi Party won less than 3% of the vote? There were many factors, but an absolutely crucial one was that the Nazis were brilliantly successful in provoking the German left into violent street-fighting. Dozens of people were killed on both sides. Hitler was able to appeal to his followers that they were victims of the left, and to the public at large that he would restore order.

At Charlottesville, of course, the most deadly violence came from the right. Nonetheless, because Fox News and other outlets were able to show some pushing and shoving from anti-racist protesters, surveys show that more Americans thought the fault lay mainly with the "left" or with "both sides" than thought the fault lay with the alt-right. This was a gift to the alt-right. Let that not happen again. Should we show opposition to the forces of racism and white supremacy that we see around us? Of course! There is much to do. Let's all get busy. Be relentless — but not through violence.

Arlie Hochschild is the author of *Strangers in Their Own Land: Anger and Mourning on the American Right*.

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may we ever

Beyond-

LEFTIST FUNDAMENTALISM

*To me the eternal Anarchist is ever replacing
pavement with lush gardens.*

~Lew

I have found the enemy, and [she] is us.

~Pogo

By Teresa Smith

It is early autumn and helicopters are circling the UC Berkeley campus as I write this. I can see them from my window. The tut-tut-tut of their propellers punctuate my thoughts.

A few days ago, I rode my bike up to the university to use the library, and had to navigate through a swarm of media and security workers. An Alt Right speech was scheduled on campus that evening, but it was still several hours away. There were no protestors yet, but cable news teams were already milling all over the place, setting up their equipment, preparing their spins. I

passed a vlogger talking into a cellphone, addressing his viewers: "Okay guys, we are here, just hours before these horrible, horrible people show up..." Meanwhile, near Sproul Plaza, the epicenter of the historic Free Speech Movement, police officers and rent-a-cops were blocking off intersections and creating protest lines.

So many people in my life have been saying that lately, saying things like, "Anything short of beating up a Nazi is racism!"

In my mind now, these people are chasing me, throwing bricks and bagels, angry at me for discussing present events without firmly taking sides.

"Erase everything you have written!" these internalized voices say. "Erase all this and replace it with an impassioned treatise in defense of punching Nazis!"

I realize I cannot go any further until I unpack my Privilege Knapsack. Until I lay my Oppression Credentials on the table. So here goes:

I'm a mixed-race gender-queer cis-lady who spent her childhood in low-income housing and foster care but who has attended college and gained a master's degree.

As a mixed-race person, I acknowledge that I sometimes have the privilege of passing as white, but because I don't always pass, I've experienced racist bullshit throughout my life, like having my bag searched in the grocery store as a teen, or being asked by teachers to speak to the class on behalf of my "race," or... a million other things. As a cis-lady, I have the

me properly frame this statement of my identity, privileges, and oppressions in such a way that people on the left are likely to accept me — and even tokenize me as someone who is supposed to be visible and speak — so long as I follow the script.

So there we have it.

Have I passed the checkpoint?

Am I allowed to continue to speak?

Or perhaps I don't have quite the right identity markers, and for me to open my mouth at this time will be dismissed by people on the left as pointless noise.

How you ever been accused of being white as a way to silence you? I have.

It happened to me three years ago in a radical newspaper meeting in which a collective member shot down an article I'd written about my fear of the police because "no one wants to hear that kind of thing from a white person."

I'd written the article under a pseudonym, and hadn't mentioned my race because I wanted to focus on class. I wanted to focus on the way people are policed in low income housing, about how as a little kid I watched my fourteen-year-old babysitter, who happened to be white, get chased by cops with their guns

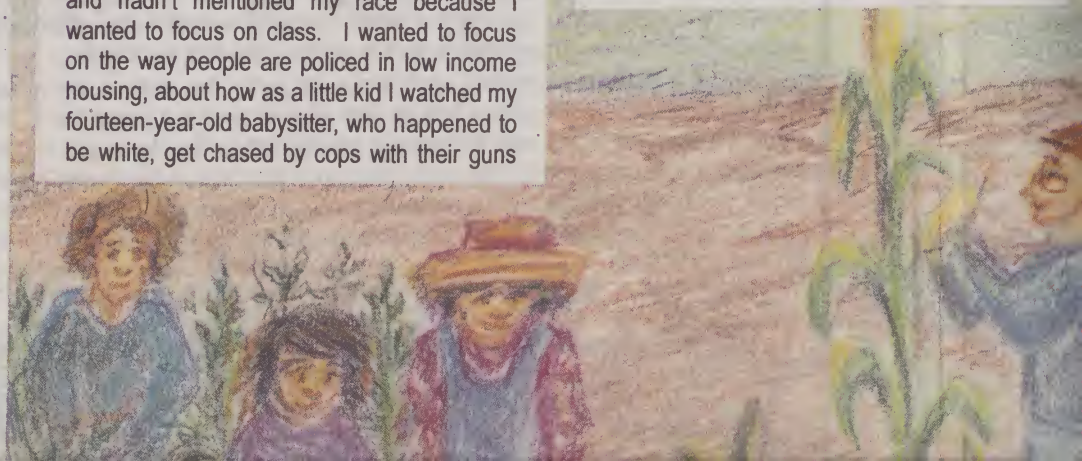
told your pain is invalid, just because you're white? That's not right. Pain is pain.

Sure, there are moments when someone else is in a lot more pain and they need attention first, but that doesn't mean your pain doesn't matter at all.

Recently, I was drinking beers with a friend who is queer and brown who told me, "Yeah, I got called 'white and straight' by a roommate a few weeks ago..."

He explained that the housemate was trying to make a case against him to the other housemates, and in the process said something along the lines of "he's just a freaking white straight male" — even though he very clearly is not. Weirdly, the person who accused him of being white was, you guessed it, himself white. Hmm...self-hatred much?

This reminded me of another friend who is a rad mixed-race Asian lady, who last year told me she was accused of being white by someone in her zinemaking collective, and



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Not during Occupy, nor during Black Lives Matter, did I see this level of event staging occur for protests. The conflict between the Alt Right and the Antifa, it seems, is a very special type of media/security commodity. For the first time in recent memory, American protestors aren't expressing dissent towards the corporate oligarchy or the state, but rather are pitted squarely against each other. Since January, citizens from "both sides" of the political spectrum have come together in Berkeley to punch, pepper spray, and kick the shit out of one another. Ribs, fingers, and noses have been broken, and people on both sides have wound up in the hospital and in jail. Security for these events has cost UC Berkeley \$2.5 million this year — a stark overshoot of the \$100,000 yearly budget that the university usually allocates for security at protests.

These street brawls, or whatever you want to call them, are a brilliant media commodity. There's something for every demographic: there's action, there's politics, there are

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How you ever been *accused* of being white as a way to silence you? I have.

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This reminded me of another friend who is a rad mixed-race Asian lady, who last year told me she was accused of being white by someone in her zinemaking collective, and



trans- alike. As a gender-queer person, I don't always quite identify as female, and at times I sorely want to express myself in traditionally masculine ways, but because I live in a binary-enforcing culture I am pressured to pick one gender and stick to the script. As someone who grew up in low-income housing, I have some serious PTSD triggers from having experienced the violence of poverty as a child, but having an advanced degree has granted me access to types of

drawn through my apartments. Even once I'd left the projects and was safely in grad school, all the fear came rushing back every time I passed campus police officers patrolling the halls with guns and batons strapped to their bodies.

"No one wants to hear that from a white person," is what someone in my collective said. This person, by the way, was white.

I was wildly triggered at the time — to be told you can't speak because of whiteness you

after that, just dropped out, because, yeah, the accusation of whiteness being used to silence you, especially if you aren't even white is really, wow. Just wow.

I can think of several other examples of moments when, in leftist community discourse, folks of color who were specifically accused of being white as a way to undermine and silence them.

It seems like there is an undercurrent in leftist circles of accusing someone of having a

upcoming spectacle.

Not during Occupy, nor during Black Lives Matter, did I see this level of event staging occur for protests. The conflict between the Alt Right and the Antifa, it seems, is a very special type of media/security commodity. For the first time in recent memory, American protestors aren't expressing dissent towards the corporate oligarchy or the state, but rather are pitted squarely against each other. Since January, citizens from "both sides" of the political spectrum have come together in Berkeley to punch, pepper spray, and kick the shit out of one another. Ribs, fingers, and noses have been broken, and people on both sides have wound up in the hospital and in jail. Security for these events has cost UC Berkeley \$2.5 million this year — a stark overshot of the \$100,000 yearly budget that the university usually allocates for security at protests.

These street brawls, or whatever you want to call them, are a brilliant media commodity. There's something for every demographic: there's action, there's politics, there are costumes and snarky commentators. A major news event rolled into a game show rolled into the rhetoric of the end of civilization. *Could this be the rise of the modern gladiator?*

Every viewer, no matter where they fall on the political spectrum, is supposed to have a stake in this conflict, and thanks to social media and livestreaming technologies, you can follow your team's champions as they navigate these hyper-historicized events in real time. *Is this the initiation of the mobile coliseum?*

It's the Free Speech Nazis verses the Antifa Brawlers, and front row seats are just a click away...

As I struggle to scratch these observations down on paper, I find myself looking over my shoulder, feeling nervous. From within me, a critical voice arises, shouting, "You must take a stance — a strong stance — against the Alt Right!"

deal with the financial, sexual, and emotional oppression experienced by women, cis- and

trans- alike. As a gender-queer person, I don't always quite identify as female, and at times I sorely want to express myself in traditionally masculine ways, but because I live in a binary-enforcing culture I am pressured to pick one gender and stick to the script. As someone who grew up in low-income housing, I have some serious PTSD triggers from having experienced the violence of poverty as a child, but having an advanced degree has granted me access to types of spaces, communities, and conversations that many of the people I grew up with will never be able to enter. Additionally, myself and my entire extended family was born on the "correct" side of certain borders, so I have never had to deal with the fear of myself or my loved ones being kidnapped and deported by ICE. Also, I was raised Catholic so I have never had to deal with Islamophobia or anti-Semitism and the horrible hate crimes to which they give rise. Also, I have had the privilege of having been exposed to certain ideas and communities that have allowed to

drawn through my apartments. Even once I'd left the projects and was safely in grad school, all the fear came rushing back every time I passed campus police officers patrolling the halls with guns and batons strapped to their bodies.

"No one wants to hear that from a white person," is what someone in my collective said. This person, by the way, was white.

I was wildly triggered at the time — to be told you can't speak because of whiteness you don't possess is crazy-making. But later, I started to wonder if this is how white people must sometimes feel in leftist spaces. To be

after that, just dropped out, because, yeah, the accusation of whiteness being used to silence you, especially if you aren't even white is really, wow. Just wow.

I can think of several other examples of moments when, in leftist community discourse, folks of color who were specifically accused of being white as a way to undermine and silence them.

It seems like there is an undercurrent in leftist circles of accusing someone of having a type of privilege — especially white-maleness — as a way of saying their opinions don't matter, that they should stop taking up space.

Another, more common way that leftists shut down underprivileged people whose opinions they don't like is to accuse them of harboring an "inner oppressor" — of being "white/able-bodied/etc/male on the inside."

If a brown or black person takes part in a "too militant" anti-capitalist action, other leftists

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of color may accuse you of being a "Coconut" or "Oreo" — this literally happened during the 2012 occupation of the UC Davis Cross-Cultural Center. People of color, it seems, are encouraged to speak and hold space by mainstream leftists — until it is realized that we have a class analysis, and then the mic is quickly taken away. "Ignore that brown person," the liberal' p.o.c.s say, "She is really white on the inside!"

Likewise, women who voted for Bernie Sanders during the primary election were accused by liberal "feminists" like Gloria Steinem of "letting their boyfriends vote through them." It didn't matter that Clinton was the big-bank candidate — women are apparently supposed to only ever vote for

another woman, regardless of whether or not we agree with her politics, otherwise we are denounced as being mindless pawns of men.

On the mainstream left, women, people of color and other oppressed groups are embraced as tokens, but only if we promote the big-bank-friendly neoliberal version of diversity. If we happen to have a post-colonial class-based analysis (which is to say: if we're friggin Marxists who read Fanon, baby), we are robbed of our p.o.c. and lady points. The mic is taken away. We are accused of being "white on the inside," of being the "empty vessel for the will of our boyfriends."

When, on the left, did we let "white" become such a dirty word that we're using it on people of color to silence them?

Since when did we start accusing women of being "pawns of males" as a way to indicate their opinions don't matter?

I'm tired of feeling like I have to police my

privilege and slap my oppression credentials on the table every time I want to speak.

I'm tired of seeing words like "male", "white", "straight" and "cis" thrown around like they are insults.

I'm tired of watching people play the Gotcha Game: calling out microaggressions so fiercely in our spaces that bystanders get scared and never want to come back.

I'm tired of the weird witch-hunts that go down in squats, radical spaces, and housing projects in which a small group gets accused of "having inner oppressors."

What I've started to see is a type of leftist fundamentalism emerging. Rather than attempting to repair our communities when microaggressions occur, we've fallen into a pattern of vilifying and taking down the ____-ist. Like, rather than identifying hurtful/oppressive behaviors, we've started putting labels on individuals in such a way that those individuals are not able to redeem themselves. Or we simply label oppressor groups as being inherently ____-ist, whether or not individual members have done things to change.

I think the fact that the term "whiteness" gets thrown around on the left as a way of saying "shut up" has everything to do with the reality of those helicopters outside my window: we now have a fascist movement that has descended upon the leftist epicenter of the Free Speech Movement, eager to provoke us into beating them up because they know they can come here to get media images that prove their point to rural Americans that urban leftists are unreasonable.

At this time — a time when all Americans are suffering in the wake of a recession that decimated the middle class — white Americans are being offered two very different versions of reality. According to the left, white people's pain isn't valid and they need to shut up. According to these Alt Right assholes, white people are some kind of magical unicorn "superior race" being held back by an "evil left wing conspiracy" of "enforcing diversity."

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wing conspiracy" of "enforcing diversity."

We all know how ludicrous the words of
these Alt Right speakers are, and yet, there
are millions of white people in America who
are buying into this fantasy version of
themselves being offered by the right. And at
moments, when I see the way "white" gets
thrown around as a slur in leftist circles, I can
almost understand why.

These Alt Right fascists are idiots. We can
outsmart them. But we have to put effort into
building up our own spaces, and we have to
start working towards smarter discussions in
which *everyone's suffering* is given space.
We need to stop telling people they aren't
allowed to have *any* pain simply because they
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Several friends in the Bay Area leftist scene
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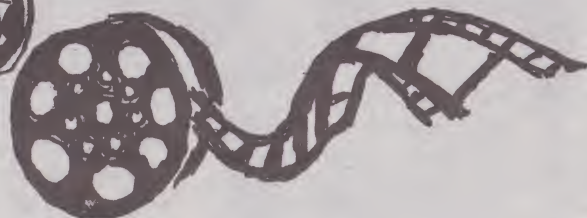
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These Alt Right fascists are idiots. We can outsmart them. But we have to put effort into building up our own spaces, and we have to start working towards smarter discussions in which *everyone's suffering* is given space. We need to stop telling people they aren't allowed to have *any* pain simply because they are part of an oppressor demographic. I believe we can do this, while continuing the vital work of undermining the oppressions created by race, class, gender, sexual bio-essentialism, and capitalist colonialism. We can do our amazing work of building intersectional community on the left without othering people.

Several friends in the Bay Area leftist scene are ready to engage in compassionate criticism that moves us beyond Leftist Fundamentalism. We are starting a new publication called Subversas.com. We are interested in articles that discuss leftist taboos, and that hold space for the types of discussions that normally get shut down on the left. The fundamentalism that has emerged on the left is like concrete being poured over a lush garden — it is time for the flowers to break through the cement!

The American populace has never been so close to uniting against the big banks and stripping the 1% of their power. The corporations are dumping money into fanning the flames of conflict because they know how close we are to going for their throats.

REVIEWS reviews Revi



MOVIE •
REVIEW •

War for the Planet of the Apes

By Shane Redd and Gerald Smith

For movie fans hoping for some semblance of a political perspective to offset what has become a repetitive and mostly stale Hollywood, the summer 2017 movie season remained mostly apolitical. Yet one summer film represents that bright shining star in a Hollywood sky filled with dull mindless remakes.

War for the Planet of the Apes is part three of what has become one of the more inspiring movie trilogies of the decade; it's also a major studio production (20th Century Fox) that has consistently highlighted the danger of the capitalist system and its potential to lay waste to the large majority of humanity, while offering a glimpse of the potential barbarism in store for the unfortunate souls who survive. War for the Planet of the Apes is the third film of 20th Century Fox's reboot of the critically acclaimed 1968 original film -- Planet of the Apes, based on French author Pierre Boulle's 1963 novel -- La Planete des Singes. With War, fans of the

In the second film, Dawn of the Planet of the Apes, we see the contrast between two communities of survivors. The apes, led by Caesar, have set up a communal society and are thriving in the Redwood forests to the north of the Bay Area. They live by one simple rule, "Apes don't kill other Apes". In contrast to their communal society, the surviving humans in San Francisco are struggling to come to terms with the reality they face. Rather than adapting and evolving to the new dawn, they are stockpiling weapons and are hell-bent on fixing



gone rogue and are operating at the whims of the colonel who enjoys a cult status amongst his troops.

At issue is the colonel's callous disregard for chain of command and his troops all in the pursuit of the alleged enemy of humanity. Here parallels can be drawn with the Bush Administration's hawkish disregard for international law in going after those responsible for 9/11, and more recently the Trump Administration's failure to even bother investigating whether or not Assad Sarin gassed his own people before launching missiles at a Syrian Air Force Base. Like Assad and Hussein before him, the apes are similarly blamed to suit hawkish military purposes. Throughout the film we see the courageous leadership of Caesar set against the fascist-like demagoguery of the rogue McCullough. With these contrasting leadership styles its not hard to surmise which side wins out.

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The Lamb will Slaughter



by Tom Doherty Associates

www.tor.com

Review by Steve Brady

In *The Lamb Will Slaughter the Lion*, Danielle hitchhikes to Freedom, Iowa, a ghost town settled by anarchy-punks. She's searching for clues about her best friend's mysterious suicide, and what Freedom might have to do with it. This community has all the pieces of a good idea but something is wrong—in the air, in the animals. Turns out their murderous demon has gone off-leash and rogue. And there's a bigger and more dangerous problem: the usual squatter dysfunction and folly.

While Margaret Killjoy's first novel, *A Country of Ghosts*, came out on her own label, this one is published by Tor, a leading sci-fi and fantasy publisher. Through speculative fiction, Margaret has found a way to bring her

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At the opening of the third film, a mere fifteen years has passed since Caesar and his fellow apes uprising from captivity and escape into the redwood forests of Northern CA. In those fifteen years, planet earth has seen over 90% of humans killed off by a simian flu virus created in a Biotech research corporation (Gen-sys laboratories) experimenting on apes in the hopes of curing Alzheimer's.

In the second film, Dawn of the Planet of the Apes, we see the contrast between two communities of survivors. The apes, led by Caesar, have set up a communal society and are thriving in the Redwood forests to the north of the Bay Area. They live by one simple rule, "Apes don't kill other Apes". In contrast to their communal society, the surviving humans in San Francisco are struggling to come to terms with the reality they face. Rather than adapting and evolving to the new dawn, they are stockpiling weapons and are hell-bent on fixing



a power source that lies in the heart of the Apes forest enclave. In other words, they cling to the hope that the capitalist society they knew, a society responsible for humanity's demise, can be rebuilt.

War for the Planet of the Apes starts with the barbarism of the humans on full display. An elite soldier unit (Alpha Omega) has found the Apes hideout and is hoping to eliminate Caesar and his fellow apes once and for all. The elite soldiers are led by a demagogic colonel who is obsessed with exacting vengeance on the apes, despite their having nothing to do with the simian flu or the current war. The Alpha Omega soldiers are resisted by the Apes army, while four human soldiers are captured and ultimately let go by Caesar with a message for their rogue Colonel McCullough (played by Woody Harrelson). The message

gone rogue and are operating at the whims of the colonel who enjoys a cult status amongst his troops.

At issue is the colonel's callous disregard for chain of command and his troops all in the pursuit of the alleged enemy of humanity. Here parallels can be drawn with the Bush Administration's hawkish disregard for international law in going after those responsible for 9/11, and more recently the Trump Administration's failure to even bother investigating whether or not Assad Sarin gassed his own people before launching missiles at a Syrian Air Force Base. Like Assad and Hussein before him, the apes are similarly blamed to suit hawkish military purposes. Throughout the film we see the courageous leadership of Caesar set against the fascist-like demagoguery of the rogue McCullough. With these contrasting leadership styles its not hard to surmise which side wins out.

"Winning", unfortunately, isn't a very accurate description at the conclusion of the "war". The apes suffer heavy casualties throughout the fighting but ultimately they persist. The humans, never able to come to grips with the new reality on the planet, still hold out the belief that there is something to be won despite the 90% loss of their species, and the remaining pockets pretending nature can still be conquered. This is the real tragedy portrayed throughout the trilogy.

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While Margaret Killjoy's first novel, *A Country of Ghosts*, came out on her own label, this one is published by Tor, a leading sci-fi and fantasy publisher. Through speculative fiction, Margaret has found a way to bring her anarchist culture and ideas to a broad audience. Fortunately, she has a real talent for telling the punk-traveler experience.

Well, because so much written about the life is terrible. There's so many bad zines, Kerouac-ism, and *Evasion*. All of this horror pales before what outsiders and poseurs write about us. Instead, Margaret Killjoy gets it right. She shows us as flawed and unpredictable, but beautiful and resourceful. This story is neither *Lord of the Flies* nor *News From Nowhere*. It's about people who aren't cut out for normal life living the only way they can. How amidst the ugliness and danger, that way of life is still worthwhile.

All the details are authentic; even when I disagree with her traveling and self-defense advice, it's still real and doesn't make me gag. One thing I find tiresome about urban fantasy is the moment the normal characters find out magic, vampires, ghosts, etc. are real—it's never convincing. But in this skilled portrayal of a culture where anything can happen, Danielle's acceptance of the demon's existence goes down flawlessly.

And Uleksi is an outstanding demon. He's

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other Apes."

Gen-sys is the biotech corporation where Caesar, a chimpanzee, and his mother before him were given samples of an experimental Alzheimer's drug that allowed for their intelligence evolution. With the first film, *Rise of the Planet of the Apes*, audiences are given a crystal clear glimpse of the dangers inherent with shadowy profit-driven capitalist industry. This danger becomes more significant and relevant to the present-day when considering the neoliberal deregulation that has become a staple of late capitalism. Humanity could any day come face to face with a contagion that wipes out the vast majority of people, with the survivors similarly blaming the victims, in the film the victims are the apes and the masses--all guinea pigs of profit driven biotechnology and big Pharma fantasies.

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Men and their ceaseless desire to manipulate and conquer all forms of nature is a consistent theme throughout the Planet of the Apes trilogy. The importance of leadership is also quite prominent, none more so than in the third film. At a certain point Caesar's band is captured by the Alpha Omega soldiers and forced to work without food or water. Caesar steps up and tells the rogue colonel in no uncertain terms that if he wants the apes to work for him then he needs to feed them and quench their thirst. A request the desperate colonel grants as he needs the apes to build a wall to fend off an attack by U.S. Government forces, as it's revealed (spoiler alert) the colonel and his Alpha Omega soldiers have

hold out the belief that there is something to be won despite the 90% loss of their species, and the remaining pockets pretending nature can still be conquered. This is the real tragedy portrayed throughout the trilogy.

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The Planet of the Apes series is a work of science fiction, yet many of the themes resonate with the present reality of 2017. We still see a relatively small group of humans mistakenly believing in their race supremacy, we still face shadowy capitalist industries with the potential to destroy humanity, we still confront world leaders who believe that nature can and must be conquered, and we still have yet to accept our only chance for survival is through collective and peaceful coexistence.

Maybe, before its too late, some intelligent apes will come along and save humanity from ourselves, until then the War for the Planet of the Apes much like the entire trilogy is worth a look.

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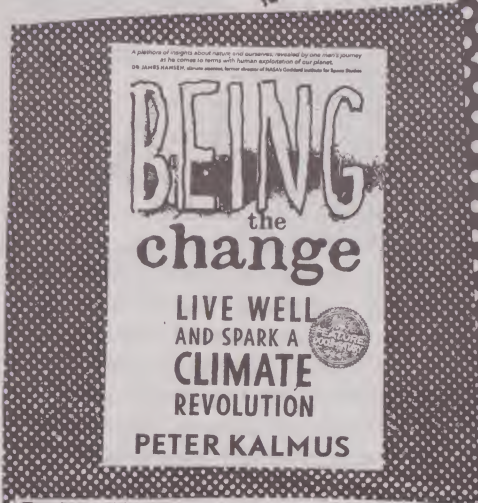
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And Uleksi is an outstanding demon. He's mysterious like Moby Dick, an archetypal symbol of something or other, but he's also more than that. Killjoy gets what it means to be intelligent without being human. Uleksi's actions make consistent sense, but his idea of what to do is alien to us. Uleksi seeks out those who have violated others, but that's because it's his nature, not morals.

Uleksi fits in well with the theme of justice in anarchist communities and societies, which was also a major theme of *A Country of Ghosts*. Outside the system just like within, no one quite knows the answers. Killjoy's anarchist characters know they're merely doing the best they can. They're not amoral or dogmatic; they're sincere, but just because justice is anarchist doesn't make it pretty.

To be vulnerable, Danielle's lover reveals her weakness: "I fucking love trashy romance. The straighter the better. The worse the politics the better. I'll just eat that shit up." If this isn't you, if you want a starkly unpredictable novel, that ignores gender conventions, with solid ambivalent politics, read *The Lamb Will Slaughter the Lion*.

ews



Reviewed by elke

New Society Publishers \$21.99 or read at the Long Haul Infoshop in Berkeley for free

This book is inspiring as it holds the mirror just in front of my face: We are the (climate) change! It talks about our common predicament and our millions of little ways of denial and escaping. It's written by a fellow traveler in the middle of this industrial society, though he has to deal with the undeniable data and facts every day as a climate scientist.

Using very understandable language, he shares with us a critical view of how this data is processed in the culture/society.

The second part is the story of his gradual opting out to where he is now living using 1/10th of the fossil fuel of an average (ever rich) American (1/5th of the average German). Following his adventures on this path, the book explores and challenges his/our general mindset, his/our underlying beliefs and ideals, looking at it all that with one scientist's eye and human eye. He attempts to find sense in the craziness, calling out the brokenness in the system and in us. It's also a hands on instruction manual for living in a post-fossil fuel society, without ignoring the frequent and



DANGEROUS, Alluring, MEANINGFUL

STUDENTS ON PEOPLE'S PARK AND THEIR ROLE IN ITS DESTRUCTION

By Sam

The University of California Berkeley is very concerned about the housing problem the city faces, but not the one that immediately comes to mind. Apparently the school is about six thousand beds short and student homelessness has been on the rise (though so are student fees and chancellor salaries, but apparently that's neither here nor there to them). The school has nine sites in mind as future student housing centers. Perhaps inspired by how many folks it currently houses, one of those sites is People's Park, an area that the school technically owns, but has no control over. Originally a proposed spot for student housing in the fifties, the university lost funding and interest and ceased construction. In 1969 there was a community effort to turn the area into a park, but the university abruptly demanded the space back. Clashes between people and police lead to rioting, police shootings that left one man dead, and a National Guard occupation of Berkeley, but in the end the people kept their park.

So my original idea for this article was to simply report on the university's plan, but a

Finally a freshman agreed to talk to me. His thoughts on the park? "Not so great." In regards to it's possible destruction, he said that he'd indeed heard about it but had yet to form an opinion. "It would be nice for the students to have more housing options," he added. Next was another freshman who actually lives right next to the park! He described it as a home for the homeless and "a place where a culture of hippiness is fostered." Fair. Unfortunately, he was actually

in favor of the proposed project, adding "it's not like they won't rehabilitate the people that have been displaced". Quite baffled, I asked him if he *really* thought that the university was going to help out the homeless if they got rid of the park. "Uh, I'm not so familiar with the system yet; it's only been one month here." One month where, on this planet?!? Sheesh.



Dominique, a junior at UC Berkeley, said that "a lot of people say it's a hole in the wall and they don't wanna go there," though personally he finds the patrons of the park "harmless for the most part". When I asked him about the proposed project, he said "I know there's a shortage of housing, and I know that the park isn't liked very much, so I wouldn't be surprised if it happened." As for it's historical significance, Dominique gave me one of the best understatements I've heard in a long while with "I know some people say it has some significance along with the Free Speech Movement and things like that." These fucking kids, man. "I feel like eventually it'll be taken down because of the need for housing." Housing for the students or the homeless? After all, both are in need. Dominique shrugged and said "In this particular area [they] would prioritize students."

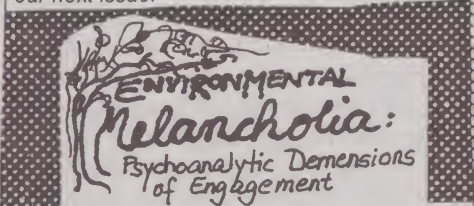
At this point, the sun started to go down and I knew I'd have to wrap up soon. I was still a bit dismayed. I'd succeeded in getting people to talk to me, but their answers gave

change! It talks about our common predicament and our millions of little ways of denial and escaping. It's written by a fellow traveler in the middle of this industrial society, though he has to deal with the undeniable data and facts every day as a climate scientist.

Using very understandable language, he shares with us a critical view of how this data is processed in the culture/society.

The second part is the story of his gradual opting out to where he is now living using 1/10th of the fossil fuel of an average (ever rich) American (1/5th of the average German). Following his adventures on this path, the book explores and challenges his/our general mindset, his/our underlying beliefs and ideals, looking at it all that with one scientist's eye and human eye. He attempts to find sense in the craziness, calling out the brokenness in the system and in us. It's also a hands on instruction manual for living in a post-fossil fuel society, without ignoring the frequent and sometimes overwhelming questions and contradictions. I appreciate the 60 pages of source material for my own further research!

Why are we not fucking doing it? It's right there! Peter Kalmus is not leaving us out of it, so Let's fucking do it!! Let's opt out of fossil fuels and everything connected: militarism, industrial society, separatism, and our death inducing imperial behavior towards the Earth. Look forward to an interview with the author in our next issue.



by Renee Lertzman

Review by Hayley

For those of us working hard to protect the environment, it is easy to become frustrated at the people who aren't engaged. Don't they realize what's at stake? Why don't they care more? In her book, *Environmental Melancholia*, environmental psychologist Renee Lertzman argues that many of these people do care, but their ability to act has been stifled by a deep, inchoate sense of loss and mourning. These people have become psychologically frozen when it comes to environmental action, and Lertzman argues

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So my original idea for this article was to simply report on the university's plan, but a thought occurred one day while lazing around on Telegraph, watching the students roll by: do any of these people care? I mean, it's for them -- people that will only be in Berkeley at most four years -- that Cal is attempting to get rid of a spot loved by so many. How do they feel about that? As far as I can remember, I don't ever recall seeing a student pass through the park. Why did they avoid it so much? With all of that in mind, I got a tape recorder decided to hit the streets for answers.

My initial approach -- chasing kids down Telegraph with a microphone -- yielded no results. It was pretty depressing how those kids eyed, or refused to eye, me. They seemed disturbed by the fact that someone they'd never met was smiling and saying "Hi" to them. I wondered if they assumed I was a panhandler, and then wondered if that, coupled with their reaction, had answered my question better than any interview could.

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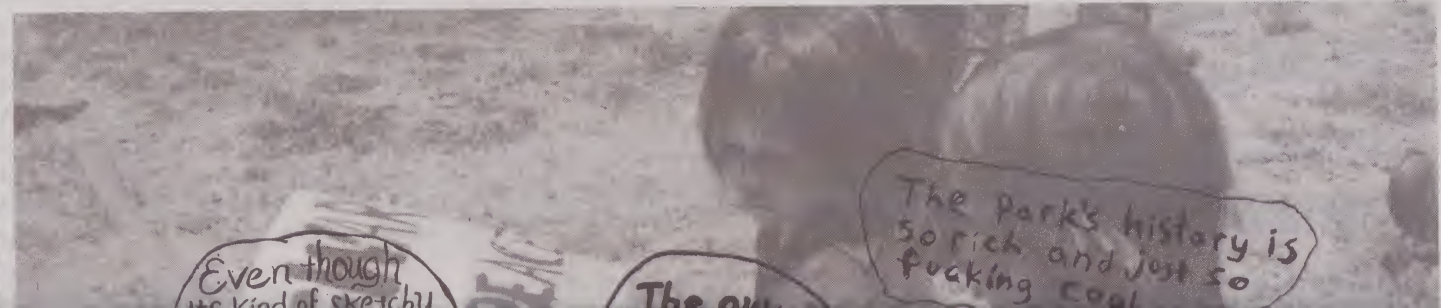
Next up was a Cal graduate named Edward, who said that he'd heard that "sometimes girls are afraid to go past it alone at night, but it hasn't caused me problems so I'm cool with it." He thinks that, while some renovations wouldn't be too bad, overall he "[doesn't] think they should build a complete housing unit [there]", though he cynically added that "the guys with suits do whatever they want." Good lord, conceding to authority? What are they teaching those kids there?!! Fortunately his friend Ivan, also a former Cal student, was a little more optimistic. "[The park] has a special vibe that you can't find in other places," says Ivan. "When my friends come over to Berkeley that go 'Oh! That's People's Park!' I think if there were just ordinary buildings there it would take out the uniqueness of the place. Even though it's kind of sketchy and dangerous, I still find the allure of the place pretty meaningful."

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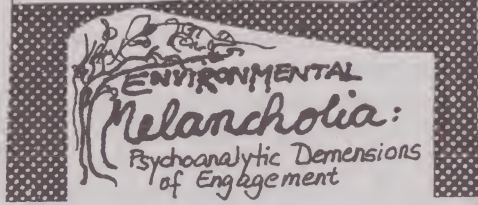
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The last person I talked to was actually someone who turned me down before doubling back and saying "No wait that sounds cool." Was he familiar with Slingshot? No. Did he attend UC? No, but he had grown up in Berkeley. Was he familiar with People's Park? At this his eyes lit up, and I started to

come out of my depressed haze. "[The park's] history is so rich and just so fucking cool," he excitedly exclaimed. Without my even bringing it up he added "It breaks my heart that they might turn it into student housing. That mural tells the whole story." Awesome! So, maybe the students don't care too much (or at all), but I think it's safe to say that the defenders of the park have strength in numbers. Right? Right.



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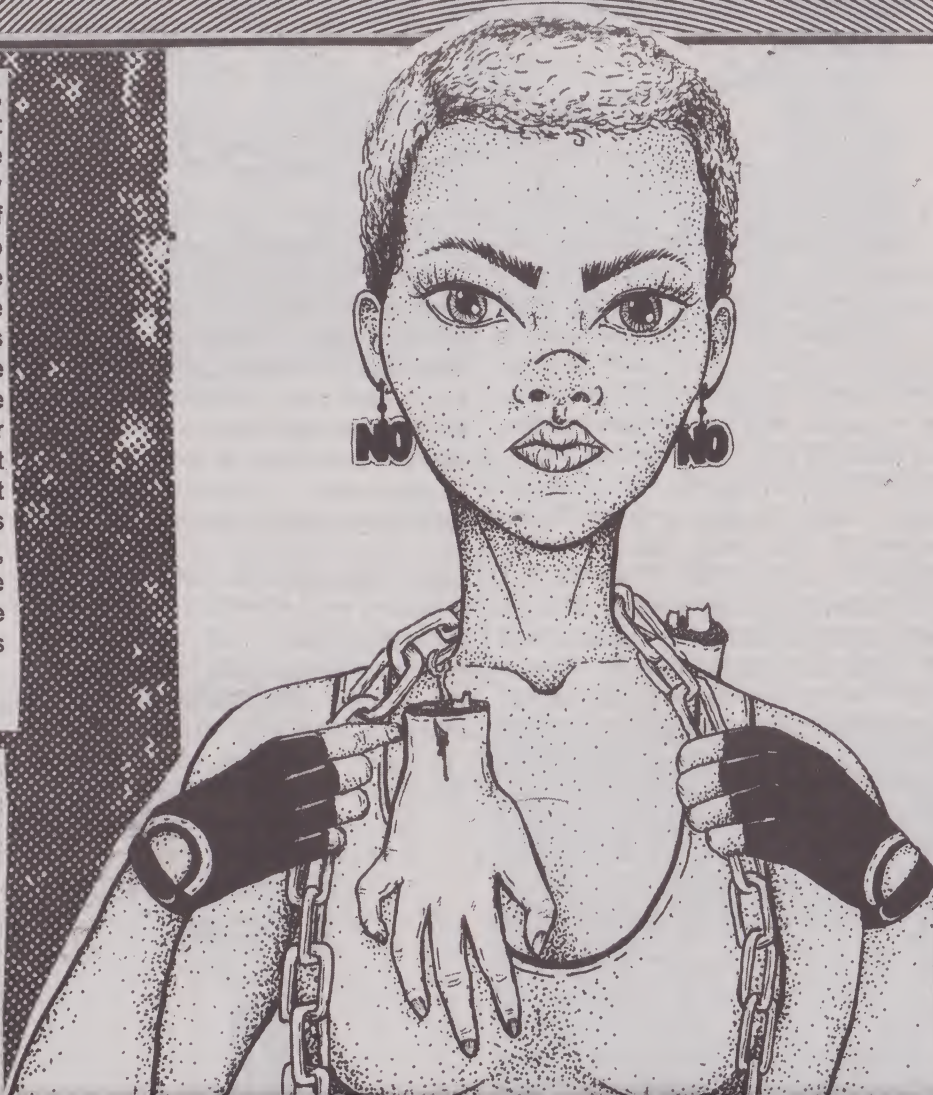
A CHALLENGE TO BRO IN

"The oppressors, who oppress, exploit, and rape by virtue of their power; cannot find in this power the strength to liberate either the oppressed or themselves. Only power that springs from the weakness of the oppressed will be sufficiently strong to free both. Any attempt to "soften" the power of the oppressor in deference to the weakness of the oppressed almost always manifests itself in the form of false generosity [...] In order to have the continued opportunity to express their "generosity," the oppressors must perpetuate injustice as well. An unjust social order is the permanent fount of this "generosity" which is nourished by death, despair, and poverty. That is why the dispensers of false generosity become desperate at the slightest threat to its source"

-Paolo Freire, Pedagogy of the Oppressed

by Dorian Commode

This article is an exploration of the way those of us already invested in the destruction of patriarchy and gender create space to talk with and educate each other. It is not patriarchy 101, nor a proposal of specific solutions. In the tradition of popular education, I believe that the oppressed already contain enough information to assess and destroy our oppression, but that we must structure spaces in a way that such information is brought out in



women-only spaces are an essential part of maintaining patriarchy. The kitchen, the laundry, the servant's quarters, the boarding school, the brothel,*** the finishing school, the female-dominated care industries, and the private discussions in which we discuss those most unpleasant things: abortions, yeast infections, rape, who to watch out for. Those things that men just *shouldn't have to think about*. Women also enforce gender norms on each other in these spaces: discussing men, instructing each other how to act and look in order to please them, putting each other down for our gender transgressions.

We need to change the way we relate *within* groups of oppressed people, too, and not assume that we are radical or feminist simply by getting together. Someone who experiences a certain type of oppression knows better than someone who doesn't what that experience is like. What one *does* with that information varies.

I think it would be more useful, as far as discussions go, to have mixed gender groups in which men* are actively obliged to both speak honestly and respect other's ideas. Women and trans people in such groups must also transgress expectations to not upset or offend men, to actively name when men are being overbearing or disrespectful, and to name and discuss openly aired patriarchal ideas. We'd have to challenge ourselves to be radically *unsafe* in a group of people with whom we *could* feel (but never actually be)

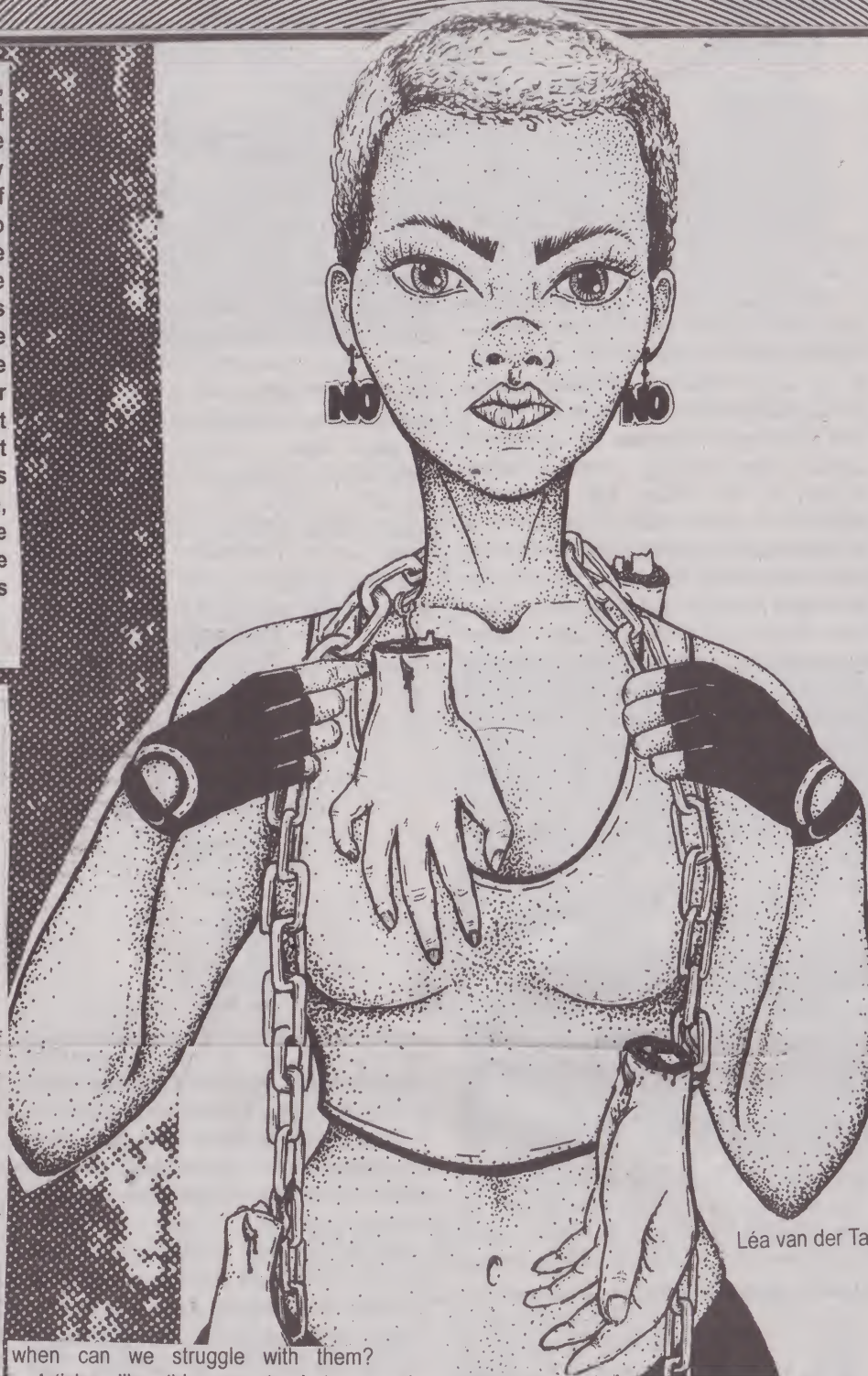
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Patriarchy remains a structural element of our society. It is neither about to be destroyed by the class climbing of a few highly privileged women, nor the injustice system "locking up rapists," nor by genderfucking. Every transperson and woman I know (and a significant amount of men) has experienced some combination of sexual assault or domestic violence, almost entirely at the hands of men. Following the logic of *The Shock Doctrine*, this near universal, continuous experience and helpless witnessing of torture primes us to think of ourselves as individuals in permanent conflict with "The World", incapable of solidarity and unable to resist the ongoing waves of violence we experience on larger



Léa van der Tak

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We are not yet equipped for insurrection against patriarchy. Discussion groups, caucuses, and collective action make possible this insurrection by fusing the information we already have into something actionable, which then can be reanalyzed, and turn into something even more effective. The discussion group is not an endpoint. What I'm proposing is the most challenging of actions- telling the truth to each other and ourselves, so that we

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Of course this is urgent. It's been urgent for 5000 years. Of course men* of conscience want to defect. Of course they don't know how. "What should I read?" I don't know. "Educate me." Are you ready? Am I? Are we? To be educated as an oppressor is to be reduced from a position of power as the oppressed free themselves. Since when should the oppressed not have to educate the oppressor"? Who else will?

While the quote above should be considered by all "allies," the "oppressor" Freire referred to was not the privileged individual (man, white person, straight person, etc), but the economic ruling class. His "oppressed" are the economic/racial underclass. Men compose the majority of this ruling class, and are fused in a cross-class alliance with other men, most clearly within the Men's Rights Movement which blames women, transpeople and queers for their (for poor/working class men, very real) disempowerment. If the privileged man* is not an oppressor, per se, what is strategy is left for common struggle? How will the privileged defect from their alliance with the oppressors? When must we struggle against them, and



when can we struggle with them?

Articles like this one tend to provoke resentment, defensiveness, or unthinking submission from privileged people. Are these responses the failing of the writer? Or the fault of the "fucked up" reader? This lack of connection between voice of oppressed and ear of privileged is simply that -- one that hasn't been made yet. To focus on the "fucked-upness" of individuals is to silently acknowledge that the best we can do is get a few people to act slightly better. We need them to, yes, and a lot more.

The notions of declaring oneself a "male feminist ally" and forming a "feminist men's group" (much like the whites-only anti-racist group) persist as "the" way to organize as aspiring feminist men. This is rather bizarre, considering that some prominent male feminists of the 70s ended up founding the Men's Rights movement.** A group of privileged people, especially a group such as men, who are generally socialized to be competitive and uncommunicative, getting together in a "safe space" to talk about their privilege seems to me like an incubator for anti-feminist activity. Let me explain:

What I've seen of organized feminist men's groups, and in subculture that considers itself feminist is this: those men who are best at talking the feminist talk are elevated as "good men" who can be trusted, regardless of their actions. I've known male women's and gender studies majors who refuse to wash their dishes, feminist queer men who mansplain abortion rights, macho bros who feel really righteous when they "kick rapists' asses," men who are so excited to use "bitch" again now that it's ok if you attach "basic" or "white," and on and on. At worst, I was around a men's

group organized by two (unacknowledged) male rapists. These guys were, of course, "good dudes."

This is what happens when talk is more important than walk, when someone can be considered an "Ally" as their static identity. Ally is a verb, something which must be *done*, not something to be. As long as we allow ourselves to fall into thinking that there are Good People and Bad People, rather than reacting to what people Actually Do, we will continue to be fooled by those who say all the right things and do all the wrong ones.

The evolution of a caucus of privileged people into a reactionary group is predictable because it imitates the structure of mainstream society -- a space in which privileged people are listened to, but worse because the rest of us aren't even there to observe or react. If men* need a space to process the (very real) hurt they carry from patriarchy, it's probably best that they do that within organically developed, trusting friendships with people of many genders. Within a group of men* discussing feminism, it's unlikely that members have a high enough degree of vulnerability and trust with each other to avoid a competition to be "most feminist." It seems like a set-up for men to feel good about themselves either by ascending to the top of the hierarchy of "good dudes" or to engage in indulgent self-punishment for being "bad" (hire a dominatrix, it's simpler).

Women and transpeople make groups for ourselves because we don't have spaces in mainstream society where we hear each other and see each other as valuable. These spaces have far more potential to transgress normal social relations. I say "potential" because

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for brevity's sake, I will use "men" to refer to people who experience male privilege. AFAB (assigned female at birth) and AMAB are more descriptive terms than "men" and "women," but I'm making the always debatable choice to use less accurate, more accessible language.

CULTURE FEMINISM

**There is some documentation of this available, some evidence is anecdotal. I have also witnessed the effects of an echo chamber of men talking about their experiences of oppression within patriarchy lead towards regressive, sexist conclusions.

***Let's not kid ourselves- patriarchy fully necessitates sex work/ers, it simply terrorizes them to keep them in line and to keep other women in their place- that is, performing obligatory sexual labor for free. The terror wrought upon transfeminine sex workers is an overlapping and equally charged topic worthy of its own article.

A SIDE NOTE

Feminism has given us the adage "the personal is political." Meaning, in part, what you *actually do* is the truest indicator of what one will continue to do. Your actions are your politics. You can aspire to something different, sure, but what you do is what you believe is ok or necessary to do right now.

-- Listen to people, especially those who don't get listened to as much as you do. When you think their experiences or complaints sound too bad to be true, ask yourself where that denial comes from. Get in their shoes. Part of female socialization is constantly putting oneself in other's shoes, try doing the same so we can try staying in ours. When someone has a patriarchy-related problem, ask if there's



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Because our costs went up we raised the wholesale price for the organizer — the first price increase in over 10 years. The way stuff works, we don't set the retail prices, but they'll be higher. Thanks for your understanding. If you can make it to the Long Haul Infoshop at 3124 Shattuck, Berkeley, you can purchase it at the old price.

You can order the organizer on-line but if possible, please buy it from a brick and mortar store which helps support the many coops, infoshops and independent bookstores that sell the Organizer. If you know of a store in your area that might like to carry the organizer and/or the paper, let us know. We would like to meet them.

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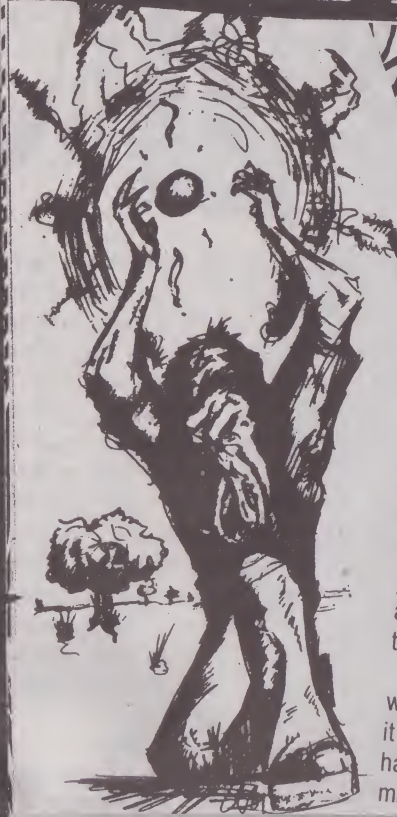
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Clean up after yourself. Seriously. It is a continual problem that men don't clean up their



RESIST NOW!



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-- Clean up after yourself. Seriously. It is a continual problem that men don't clean up their shit, I assume this comes from a confidence that "someone" will come deal with the mess, or that the mess is "not a big deal." The sense that someone will take care of you or that getting other people sick won't impact you is an entitlement that most people don't have. Oppression is always economic. One's health and stuff is precious and costs money that is often hard earned. Yes, there are messy femmes, I live with them. It's annoying but the political and social weight is just not the same.

-- Don't participate in trends like calling women "basic bitches" or whatever. It's still sexist.

-- Sexual tension is often used as a form of social control. Men have the option of using flirtation to insure themselves against being challenged, whether or not they are actually sexually interested in their subject, as femmes and women are less likely to compromise getting laid by being argumentative. It's unacceptable to rely on being charming, sweet, or flirtatious as a way to avoid responsibility for ones actions.

-- Learn and practice feminist theory: Reading ideas and stories of women and transpeople is a great way for men to educate themselves without overburdening those people. Remember that this is not "self-education" the



You can order the organizer on-line but if possible, please buy it from a brick and mortar store which helps support the many coops, infoshops and independent bookstores that sell the Organizer. If you know of a store in your area that might like to carry the organizer and/or the paper, let us know. We would like to meet them.

The process to make the 2018 organizer was particularly fun this summer and we think it looks amazing. A number of people who we had never met before dropped by to make last-minute art and stayed the night to make the organizer lovely.



Thank you for reading *Slingshot*! We're hoping you find at least one thought provoking sentence in every issue! *Slingshot* loves it the slow way, loves to do the hand job: writing, drawing, cutting, waxing, rolling, folding, putting the slingshots in envelopes, taking it to the post office on bike trailers...

We're enjoying the collective(s) time together sharing our ideas, crazy thoughts and big questions while working together till the pages are all done and ready for the printer. That's why we spend little time in front of the

and we're also not good at it (guess why!). But we acknowledge that some of you are and you might even like it! Besides those of you that we meet on the streets (here is our limitation mainly to the Bay Area) we would love to reach as many active people as you out there in all possible ways into the farthest corners of the globe. Please help us! Please share the sentence, the article you like with your friends! Please make us more visible on the internet by posting a link in whatever computer platform you favor!

-- Be nice to people. Assume that most people, especially those that experience oppression(s), have gone through some fucked up shit.

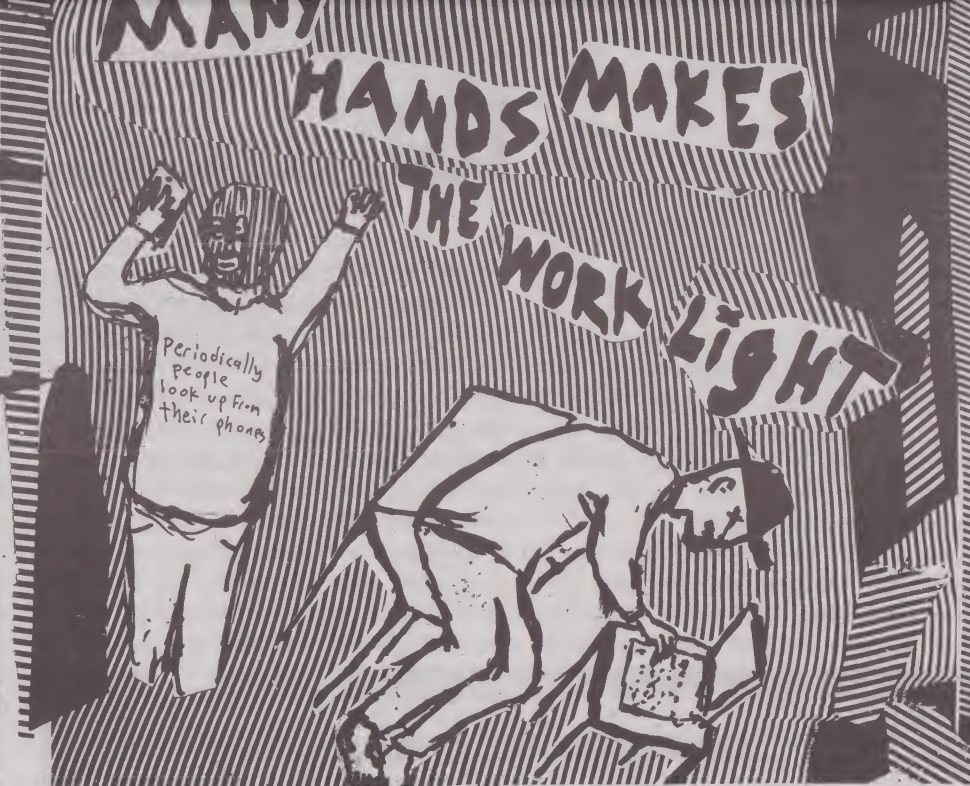
-- Seek validation outside of activism, that's what good friends are for. Successes are few, and trying to "look busy" or be seen as a "good ally" rarely assists in strategic collective action.

-- Clean up after yourself. Seriously. It is a continual problem that men don't clean up their shit, I assume this comes from a confidence that "someone" will come deal with the mess, or that the mess is "not a big deal." The sense that someone will take care of you or that getting other people sick won't impact you is an entitlement that most people don't have. Oppression is always economic. One's health and stuff is precious and costs money that is often hard earned. Yes, there are messy femmes, I live with them. It's annoying but the political and social weight is just not the same.

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-- Learn and practice feminist theory: Reading ideas and stories of women and transpeople is a great way for men to educate themselves without overburdening those people. Remember that this is not "self-education," the writer did the work and is educating you, and someone had to make the reading list. That said, I've known plenty of men who've read all the right stuff and still act like sexist assholes. Why? Because they equate thinking with doing something. To be a true ally you cannot just do the homework -- you must take what you've learned and actively apply it to your life, your behavior, your sex life. The future is unwritten, comrades.



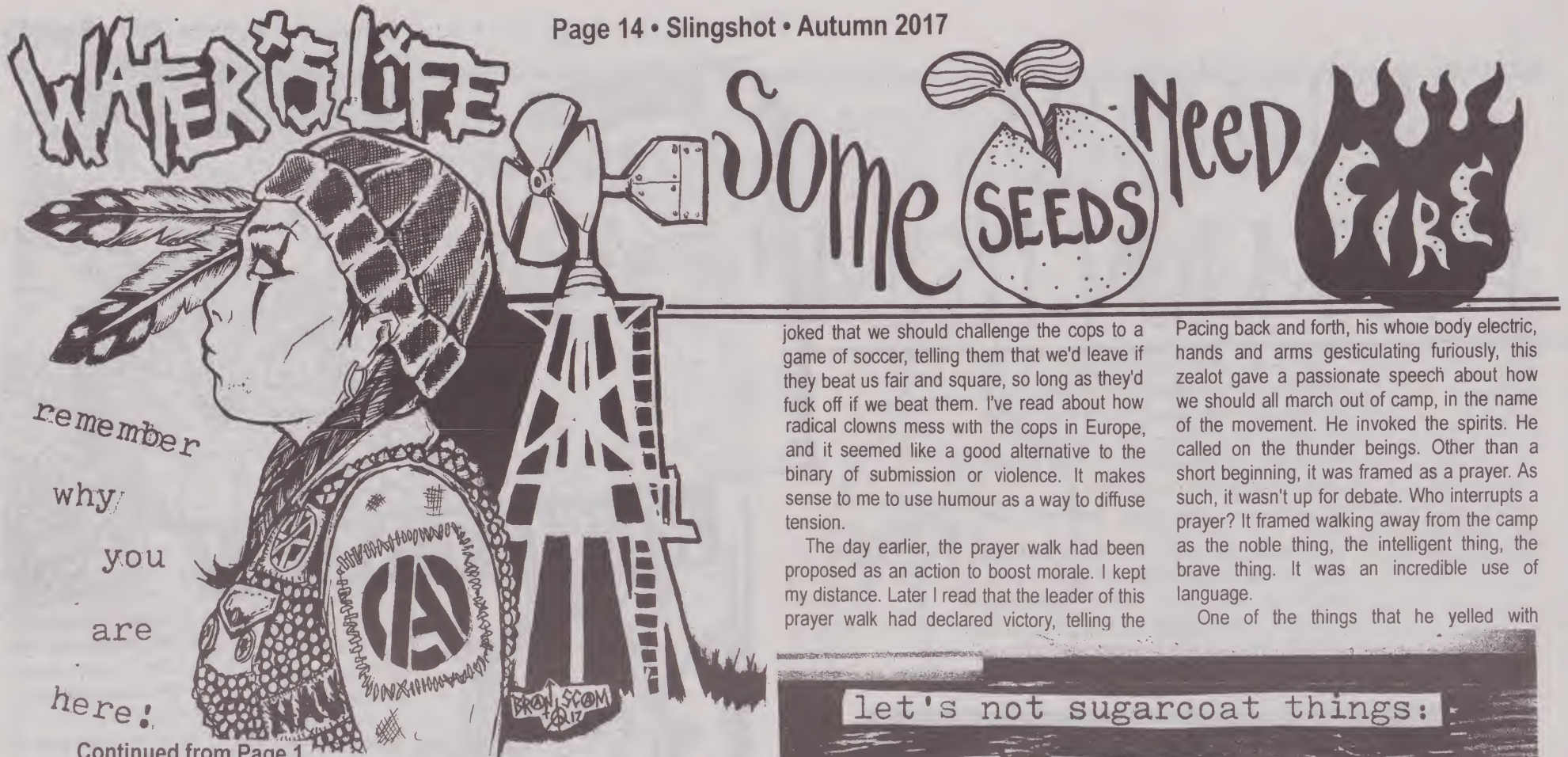
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We're enjoying the collective('s) time together sharing our ideas, crazy thoughts and big questions while working together till the pages are all done and ready for the printer. That's why we spend little time in front of the screen, that's why it's so hard to find us on the 'other end' of the screen: on your smartphone, tablet or computer, on social media...we started publishing in 1988, before the first website existed. Some of us think that computers and the internet won't exist forever and we don't want to lose our skills, want to stay independent from the system(s).

As a collective we still want to spend as little time as possible attached to the flickering box,

and we're also not good at it (guess why!). But we acknowledge that some of you are and you might even like it! Besides those of you that we meet on the streets (here is our limitation mainly to the Bay Area) we would love to reach as many active people as you out there in all possible ways into the farthest corners of the globe. Please help us! Please share the sentence, the article you like with your friends! Please make us more visible on the internet by posting a link in whatever computer platform you favor!

Every *Slingshot* issue you'll find online at our websites slingshot.tao.ca or slingshotcollective.org - you can even dig deep down in our archive. Which social media (fb: [slingshot collective](https://www.facebook.com/slingshotcollective); twitter: [#slingshotnews](https://twitter.com/slingshotnews)) seems secure enough for you to chat with us, start a discussion, we would love that. ...and if you want to retreat to our slow way we're extremely happy to meet you in person in Berkeley at the Long Haul Infoshop!



Continued from Page 1

was about to start, the facilitator announced that a journalist would be filming the meeting, so that if law enforcement later said in court that something had taken place in the meeting that hadn't, there would be evidence to contradict them. I don't understand why, but everyone just accepted this nonsense. I was the only one to object.

The facilitator of this meeting was a non-native woman I hadn't seen before. I do not understand how this vitally important role fell to her. She made no pretense of neutrality or even-handedness. She began with a long speech about how we needed to be aware that the police would construe shields as weapons, and that people who chose to defend themselves were putting the lives of everyone

been advocating building a barricade said that he had received explicit permission to build the barricade from one of the people the facilitator mentioned. "I'm going to start now," he said. "Whoever wants to help, come with me."

I followed him out. The plan was to fix four-by-eight-foot sheets of plywood to posts in the ground. I spent most of the rest of the day digging holes. At first I felt good about what I was doing, then I started using my mind. It made little to no sense to build a barricade where we were building it. Someone left to go get the wood, but they never returned. By the time it was dark, I didn't care about the barricade anymore. I went to bed early that night and slept like a baby.

The Pressure Mounts

joked that we should challenge the cops to a game of soccer, telling them that we'd leave if they beat us fair and square, so long as they'd fuck off if we beat them. I've read about how radical clowns mess with the cops in Europe, and it seemed like a good alternative to the binary of submission or violence. It makes sense to me to use humour as a way to diffuse tension.

The day earlier, the prayer walk had been proposed as an action to boost morale. I kept my distance. Later I read that the leader of this prayer walk had declared victory, telling the

Pacing back and forth, his whole body electric, hands and arms gesticulating furiously, this zealot gave a passionate speech about how we should all march out of camp, in the name of the movement. He invoked the spirits. He called on the thunder beings. Other than a short beginning, it was framed as a prayer. As such, it wasn't up for debate. Who interrupts a prayer? It framed walking away from the camp as the noble thing, the intelligent thing, the brave thing. It was an incredible use of language.

One of the things that he yelled with

let's not sugarcoat things:
we lost. oil now flows through
the main vein of the black snake.

crowd: "We're here to tell the spirits that we won."

The Hour Strikes

At 2:00 PM, the time that we had been told a few days prior that police would start making arrests, a group of at least thirty people gathered near the road, many bloc'ed up, wearing masks, body armour, gas masks, goggles, and other protective gear. There were three shields. Someone had created a small barricade with barbed wire at the entrance into camp. Mad props to whoever did that, if you're

conviction was a phrase that we'd heard many times before, in different contexts: REMEMBER WHY YOU ARE HERE!

I urge everyone to think about this phrase, because it was incredibly effective at silencing people. On the surface, it is benign, but its effect is powerful. The command "Remember why you are here!" implies togetherness—that why you are here is the same as the reason I am here, and therefore what I am encouraging you to do is what you yourself want to do. Say the words "Remember why you are here!" and

you
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Continued from Page 1

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The facilitator of this meeting was a non-native woman I hadn't seen before. I do not understand how this vitally important role fell to her. She made no pretense of neutrality or even-handedness. She began with a long speech about how we needed to be aware that the police would construe shields as weapons, and that people who chose to defend themselves were putting the lives of everyone else in jeopardy. She said the magic words: she declared with stupendous moral conviction, "We must be defenceless!" Her words were a reiteration of a familiar narrative: We must be prayerful, to be prayerful means to be peaceful, to be peaceful means to be compliant. Defiance equals violence, disobedience equals disrespect. Besides leaving camp peacefully, which was strongly encouraged, there was only one option: symbolic arrest. The double bind.

I could barely take it. I hate being told what to do. I hate manipulative language and badly-facilitated meetings. In these situations, where there's no question that undercover cops are present, many activists are reluctant to speak their minds. For security reasons, they don't want to out themselves as militants, especially if they have something planned. You've got a room full of tension, full of distrust, and at a time when folks need a morale boost the most, they get exactly the opposite.

One "action" that was proposed was a prayer walk. The idea was to gather with drums, prayer flags, and sacred items, and march around Ocei before continuing straight

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The Pressure Mounts

Some have portrayed the resistance at

the enemy is amongst us... sowing
seeds of discord,
pacifying us when it is
strategic to agitate, agitating when
it would be wise to stand down.

Standing Rock as wildly successful, despite the eviction, despite the fact that oil now flows through the main vein of the Black Snake. These eternal optimists point to the many anti-pipeline campaigns inspired by Standing Rock. They point out that #NoDAPL has raised the political and economic cost of pipelines, and that some pipelines have been cancelled due to the new climate of resistance. All this makes me think of an archer who aims for a target, fires, misses, then paints a target around the arrow and claims to have hit the bull's eye.

Let's not sugarcoat things: We lost. We were trying to stop a pipeline, and we failed. Let's learn from our mistakes, evaluate them,

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It was almost 4:00 PM when the police started threatening people with arrest. There was a crowd on the road, where there was a line of riot cops. The boss was ordering people to leave or face arrest. A lot of people had cameras. Some were livestreaming. Legal observers were present. The line between spectator and participant was blurry.

Then, the first arrest. A snatch squad rushed forward, grabbed someone, and pulled him back behind the police line. Some people fled in terror. I was arrested and charged with two misdemeanours. Eight other people got arrested along with me. We spent the night in jail. The worst part of the experience was spending three hours in a van with our hands bound. It hurt. Last time I spoke with the legal team, they told me that dozens of misdemeanour charges had been dropped, and that there's a good chance that mine will be dropped too. And that is where my story ends.

Some Seeds Need Fire to Open Them

Ocei meant a lot to me. It came as the

No one had a plan. We were just a bunch of rebels who didn't want to roll over and let the police move into a place that meant so much to us, a place of such global significance. We milled about. Two o'clock came and went without incident. Some of us started playing soccer in the mud with the deflated ball. Someone showed me where to find an inflated ball. Maybe it sounds silly, but that meant a lot to me.

A woman that I'd only seen once before wound up in the important role of police liaison. She wore a shabby high-visibility vest with the words "neutral mediator" written on it in Sharpie. She wasn't presenting herself as a water protector, but as a third party working for

We must be prayerful, to be prayerful means to be peaceful, to be peaceful means to be compliant. Defiance equals violence, disobedience equals disrespect. Besides leaving camp peacefully, which was strongly encouraged, there was only one option: symbolic arrest. The double bind.

I could barely take it. I hate being told what to do. I hate manipulative language and badly-facilitated meetings. In these situations, where there's no question that undercover cops are present, many activists are reluctant to speak their minds. For security reasons, they don't want to out themselves as militants, especially if they have something planned. You've got a room full of tension, full of distrust, and at a time when folks need a morale boost the most, they get exactly the opposite.

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each of these water protectors
now carries a seed within
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on out of camp. Valorizing surrender. This idea was taken up enthusiastically by the facilitator, as if she'd been waiting for it to be proposed.

Eventually, a person gave a speech advocating resistance. He had a plan. He'd already started building a barricade. He wanted help. Then, in quick succession, several other people spoke up declaring their intentions to stand up to the police. The facilitator attempted to redirect the conversation back to her personal agenda. I asked on whose behalf she was speaking, and eventually she rattled off a few names, none of which I recognized. But the person who had

seeds of dissent
pacifying us when it is
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Let's not sugarcoat things: We lost. We were trying to stop a pipeline, and we failed. Let's learn from our mistakes, evaluate them,

study what worked and what didn't, and commit to being better prepared next time around. Not to say that the fight against DAPL is over. No war is ever won unless one side accepts defeat. Have the water protectors of Oceti accepted defeat? Only time will tell...

A lot took place that day. Most peculiar of all was a certain quality of ordinariness. Maybe there's only so much the mind can take before it decides to reassert normalcy. Maybe if one could just manage to ignore how surreal everything was, things would go back to normal.

I found a deflated soccer ball lying around. I

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A woman that I'd only seen once before wound up in the important role of police liaison. She wore a shabby high-visibility vest with the words "neutral mediator" written on it in Sharpie. She wasn't presenting herself as a water protector, but as a third party working for some unspecified organization.

Everything she said was fear-mongering. We were told at one point that those people who wanted to be peacefully arrested were to go to the road. There was a subtle threat woven into the presentation of this option, implying that people who remained in camp would also be arrested, but face more dire consequences, such as police violence and felony charges. Later, in a variation on the same theme, the police liaison came back and told the remaining water protectors that if they didn't leave, the police would be coming into the camp "with live rounds." I thought this was ridiculous: Don't police normally have "live rounds" in the gun at their hip? But energy flows where attention goes; little things like this contributed to a doubtful, indecisive mood.

Sometime not long after 2:00 PM, a handsome young man rolled in and gave an incredible performance, calling upon everyone in the crowd to rise to the occasion, to find their warrior spirit. There was a twist, though; it wasn't a call to fight, it was a call to flight.

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Some Seeds Need Fire to Open Them

Oceti meant a lot to me. It came as the fulfillment of a dream and the answer to a prayer. Before the movement at Standing Rock arose, I envisioned the anti-pipeline movement giving rise to truly sovereign territories. This is what decolonization means to me—not a shift in attitude, but freeing land-based communities from state control. It was my hope that Oceti would become an autonomous zone, where plans for a more beautiful world could be hatched.

Now that my wish has been granted, and its time has come and gone, I'm left picking up the pieces of my dreams, shards that will cut me if I hold them the wrong way. I'm driven by a maddening hunch that if I put them together the right way, they'll spell out a secret message that will re-enchant the world.

Please, make no mistake: I have tremendous faith. I too acknowledge the magnificent beauty of what transpired at Standing Rock. The beauty of life is not diminished by death, nor is the beauty of a moment in time diminished by its ending. The spirit of Oceti Oyate will live on in the hearts

to OPEN THEM

and minds of all those who gave themselves whole-heartedly to it, and each of these water protectors now carries a seed within their hearts, which they will take to the four directions. And some seeds need fire to open them.

I'm profoundly grateful to have been a part of this moment in history, which will dwell in our collective memory for generations. For a time, I lived my dream of living in a society without authority, without money, rooted in a deep respect for all life. At Standing Rock, we were free. We felt part of the Great Circle of life—deeply connected to both the past and the future, drawing from a well that is the source.

Understanding the Enemy Within

I believe that Ogeton Oyate was defeated because of shrewd COINTELPRO-style tactics. Divide-and-conquer tactics.



Psychological warfare, spiritual warfare; whichever you prefer. Just like everyone else, I'm left guessing. The available evidence doesn't lend itself to any tidy conclusions.

We can theorize, though, and we should. It's

Compiled by Jesse D. Palmer

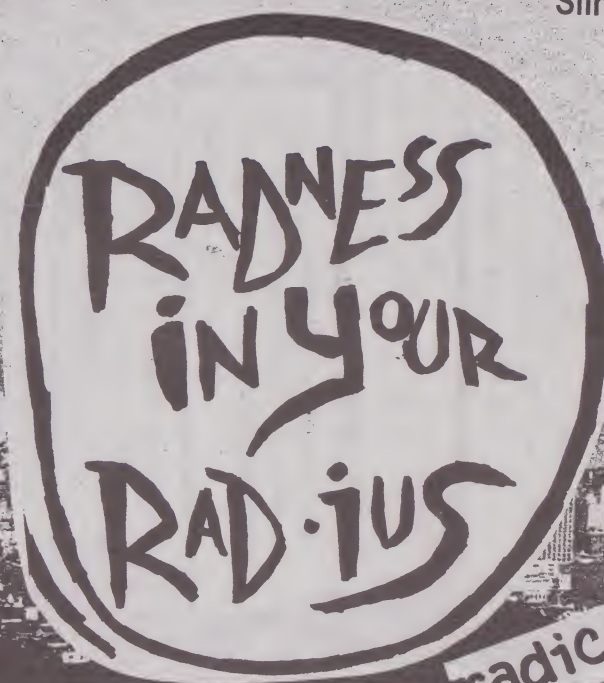
As usual, as soon as we took the 2018 *Slingshot* organizer to the printing press, folks started emailing us with updates and additions to the contact list. Let us know if you see things we should correct or add. Due to computer problems, we have been unable to update the on-line contact list (or even fix an error that eliminated all of Europe) for the last 6 months. We hope this will be fixed soon. The new website is slingshotcollective.org.

The Aquadome – Kirksville, MO

A volunteer-run DIY venue and art space that hosts events. "It is, unfortunately, not a water park." 120 S Main St, Kirksville, MO 63501

Aboveground Zine Library - New Orleans, LA

They were closed for 6 years and now they have a new location at a radical / self help bookstore and flower shop (!) that has been



radical spaces
update

Appalshop/Boone Youth Drop-In Center – Whitesburg, KY

A non-profit arts and media project in the heart of the Appalachian coalfields. They have video training facilities, a community radio station, a 150-seat theater and an art gallery space that hosts community projects. 91 Madison Ave, Whitesburg, KY 41858 606-633-0108 appalshop.org

The Plantory – Lexington, KY

A coworking space that rents work and meeting spaces to various non-profits. Our contact recommended it so if you visit, let us know what you think. 501 W 6th St Suite 250, Lexington, KY 40508 859-255-6999 plantory.org

Good Life Center - Harborside, ME

A five acre homestead farm that promotes "simple and sustainable living skills, social and economic justice, organic gardening and the

fit – it is part museum and they host some educational projects. Let us know what you think. 372 Harborside Rd. Harborside, Maine, 04642 goodlife.org

Diggers Books & Zines - Prince Edward County, ON, Canada

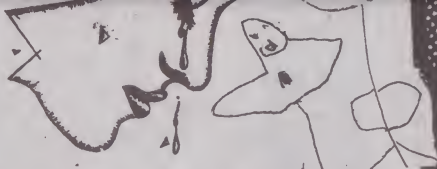
They sell books and zines on radical topics and they host events. 2569 County Rd. 13, Prince Edward County, ON, K0K 2T0, Canada 613-920-4914, diggersbookshop.wordpress.com

Andrými - Reykjavik, Iceland

A new radical social center. 10nó Vónastræti 3 Reykjavik, Iceland, andrymi.org

Updates to the 2018 Organizer and news bits

- The Che Cafe in San Diego – which had been in an epic battle for survival with the University of California – won and now has a stable lease!



Psychological warfare, spiritual warfare; whichever you prefer. Just like everyone else, I'm left guessing. The available evidence doesn't lend itself to any tidy conclusions.

We can theorize, though, and we should. It's only safe to assume that whatever government programs (and their corporate counterparts) have descended from COINTRELPKO are leaps and bounds ahead of their predecessor. The enemy is amongst us... sowing seeds of discord, pacifying us when it is strategic to agitate, agitating when it would be wise to stand down.

What's worse is the thought that the enemy is within our own minds as well. Many people on our side have internalized the mainstream media narrative of "good protester vs. bad protester." Now we have the narrative of the "good ally vs. agitator." Certain ideologies are operational and self-reinforcing at this point—ideologies which may have been promoted by our enemies in ways too obscure to pin down. Some will consider this conspiracy theory, but I'm convinced that certain attitudes serve those in power too well to have arisen accidentally. I can't point my finger at anyone and accuse them of being a government agent without evidence. I can tell a story, though. I can do my best to convey to others what it feels to live inside a riddle.

Make no mistake: We can be sure that state and corporate forces are at this very moment recruiting and training agents to disrupt our movement, to derail us, to pacify us, to divert our energy into useless channels. They'll use what they learned from Standing Rock; use spirituality to divide people; use clever techniques of persuasion to promote weak ideas, tactics, and strategies. They'll use the politics of legitimacy to divide people; use smear campaigns; use anti-oppression politics, especially the spectre of the "good ally." If we are to prevail, we must be solid, resolute, and practice a culture of solidarity. We must be strong in ourselves, unwavering in our belief, unshakable in our determination. And we must be willing to be honest with ourselves, preferring hard truth to easy fantasy.

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Aboveground Zine Library - New Orleans, LA

They were closed for 6 years and now they have a new location at a radical / self help bookstore and flower shop (!) that has been nice to lend them some space. Open Wed-Sat 11-7 pm and Sun 11-5 pm closed. Mon and Tues. c/o Rubber Library 3240 Dauphine St. New Orleans, LA 70117, 504-945-4662.

Slingshot free stuff

We'll send you a random assortment of back issues for the cost of postage. Send \$4 for 2 lbs. Free if you're an infoshop or library. slingshotcollective.org

IT'S NOT THAT I THINK YOUR
MUSIC IS BAD.... IT'S JUST
THAT WHEN EVER I HEAR IT
I GET A BAD MIGRAINE....
BUT I GUESS THAT'S PART
OF YOUR PLAN..... TO BUG
THE OVER-25'S TO DEATH!



examples of human stupidity, sad reminders of the price of ignorance, cautionary tales about the dangers of greed. We are armed with visions infinitely more powerful than your money, your guns, and your lies. You've seen our movement grow, but you ain't seen nothing like what's just getting warmed up.

Lexington, KY
 A coworking space that rents work and meeting spaces to various non-profits. Our contact recommended it so if you visit, let us know what you think. 501 W 6th St Suite 250, Lexington, KY 40508 859-255-6999 plantory.org

Good Life Center - Harborside, ME

A five acre homestead farm that promotes "simple and sustainable living skills, social and economic justice, organic gardening and the non-exploitation of animals." It was the home of Helen & Scott Nearing who promoted sustainable living. Someone suggested we include this in the contact list and it's hard to know if it is a good

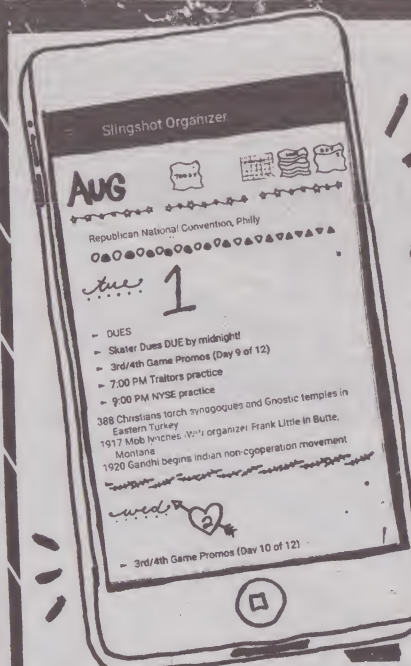
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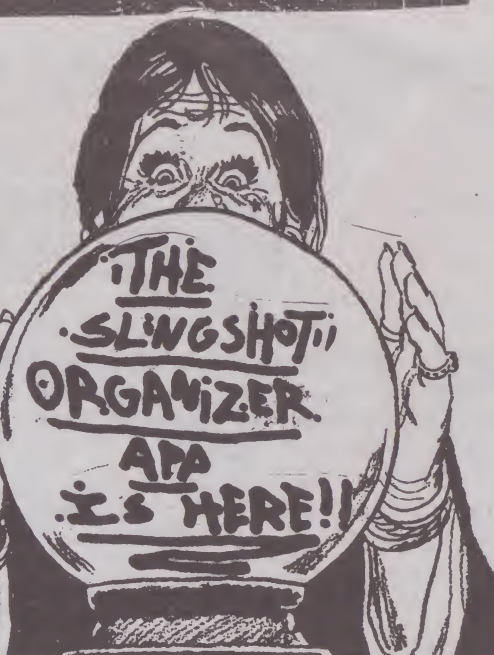
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- Peoples' Action for Rights and community in Eureka, Calif. closed but left behind a super space amidst the horrors of capitalism. It will be included in the on-line version of this article.



Slingshot is pleased to announce the release of a Slingshot organizer smart phone app. It's a calendar app with hand-drawn art, menstrual calendar and the radical historical dates that appear in the paper version of the organizer. If you click on the historical date, you can see all the dates we have in our list — up to 20 events for each day. The app syncs with your google calendar so all dates added in the app or in your google calendar will appear in the other automatically. The menstrual calendar in the app has a graphical predictive feature. The app is free with a donate button.

We hope you'll try the app and if you like it, tell your friends. It seems like on-line things like the app get spread and popularized online, which poses a problem for Slingshot since



radical information beyond our comfort zone and the activist ghettos based in big cities, college towns, and the coasts. Maybe it can get some Emma Goldman and IWW dates out to folks who've never seen the paper Organizer, or who don't find it practical to use anymore.

We're going to keep publishing the organizer on paper, because the paper calendar has different uses than an app. We decided to make the app a few years ago and it ended up being harder than expected to make the app a reality.

The app is a work-in-progress, and we expect we'll find some bugs and perhaps upgrade or adjust it over the next year or so. Please send us your questions, comments or

disorder, pacifying as it is, but it agitates, agitating when it would be wise to stand down.

What's worse is the thought that the enemy is within our own minds as well. Many people on our side have internalized the mainstream media narrative of "good protester vs. bad protester." Now we have the narrative of the "good ally vs. agitator." Certain ideologies are operational and self-reinforcing at this point—ideologies which may have been promoted by our enemies in ways too obscure to pin down. Some will consider this conspiracy theory, but I'm convinced that certain attitudes serve those in power too well to have arisen accidentally. I can't point my finger at anyone and accuse them of being a government agent without evidence. I can tell a story, though. I can do my best to convey to others what it feels to live inside a riddle.

Make no mistake: We can be sure that state and corporate forces are at this very moment recruiting and training agents to disrupt our movement, to derail us, to pacify us, to divert our energy into useless channels. They'll use what they learned from Standing Rock; use spirituality to divide people; use clever techniques of persuasion to promote weak ideas, tactics, and strategies. They'll use the politics of legitimacy to divide people; use smear campaigns; use anti-oppression politics, especially the spectre of the "good ally." If we are to prevail, we must be solid, resolute, and practice a culture of solidarity. We must be strong in ourselves, unwavering in our belief, unshakable in our determination. And we must be willing to be honest with ourselves, preferring hard truth to easy fantasy.

This Ain't Over

To my enemies reading this, mark my words: This ain't over. The day is fast approaching when you will realize that we are no longer resisting you. You are resisting us. A new world will be born from the ashes of your crumbling empire, and day will break on the dawn of total freedom. Your legacies will live in infamy, serving as nothing more than pathetic

Slingshot free stuff

We'll send you a random assortment of back issues for the cost of postage. Send \$4 for 2 lbs. Free if you're an infoshop or library. slingshotcollective.org

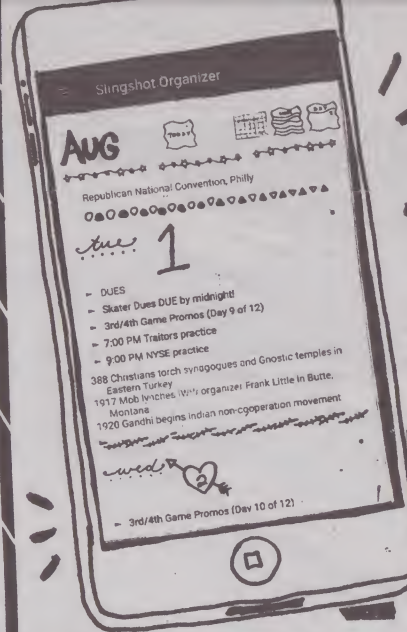
IT'S NOT THAT I THINK YOUR
MUSIC IS BAD.... IT'S JUST
THAT WHEN EVER I HEAR IT
I GET A BAD MIGRAINE....
BUT I GUESS THAT'S PART
OF YOUR PLAN..... TO BUG
THE OVER-25'S TO DEATH!



examples of human stupidity, sad reminders of the price of ignorance, cautionary tales about the dangers of greed. We are armed with visions infinitely more powerful than your money, your guns, and your lies. You've seen our movement grow, but you ain't seen nothing yet. We're just getting warmed up, motherfuckers.

MNI WICON!! WATER IS LIFE!

This article is meant to be part of a series reflecting on lessons that can be learned from Standing Rock. If you participated in the movement and want to contribute to the conversation, drop me a line at REBELREBUILDREWILD@RISEUP.NET.



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We hope you'll try the app and if you like it, tell your friends. It seems like on-line things like the app get spread and popularized on-line, which poses a problem for Slingshot since we don't have much of any on-line presence, so we leave it to our readers to help. Many people have approached us over the years and told us they previously used the paper organizer, but then they started using their phone calendar. We hope some of those folks will give the app a try.

In our wildest dreams, the app will help get

radical information beyond our comfort zone and the activist ghettos based in big cities, college towns, and the coasts. Maybe it can get some Emma Goldman and IWW dates out to folks who've never seen the paper Organizer, or who don't find it practical to use anymore.

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The app is a work-in-progress, and we expect we'll find some bugs and perhaps upgrade or adjust it over the next year or so. Please send us your questions, comments or suggestions. Currently, the app only works on Android phones, and a big question is whether we should invest additional resources to make an iphone version. We don't have an iphone programmer so if you know how to program apps for the iphone and want to help, let us know. To download it, go to the google play store and search "slingshot organizer."

FALL OFF THE RAT WHEEL



October 14 • 12-6pm

Atlanta Radical Bookfair, 101 Auburn Ave, NE, Atlanta, GA atlantaradicalbookfair.com

October 14 • 10am

Cassette Store Day - celebrate by making a mixtape

October 14

Indigenous Peoples Day

October 18

Justice for Kayla Moore, pack the courts! Phillip Burton Federal Building, 450 Golden Gate Ave, SF, CA justiceformaylamore.wordpress.com

October 21 • 8-4pm

Northwest Conference on Teaching for Social Justice, 2600 SW Thistle St., Seattle, WA nwtsj.org

October 21 • 7pm

Benefit for Survivors of Human Trafficking in India, (film screening & performance), Fellowship Hall, 1924 Cedar St, Berkeley, CA bfuu.org/events

October 20-22

Bioneers Conference, San Rafael, CA conference.bioneers.org

October 27 • 6pm

Halloween Critical Mass Bike Ride - Dress up! Justin Herman Plaza San Francisco sfcriticalmass.org

October 28 • 10-7pm

Los Angeles Anarchist Bookfair, Leimert Park Plaza la.anarchistbookfair.com

October 28

London Anarchist Bookfair, Park View School, Green Road, London anarchistbookfair.org.uk

October 28 • 7pm

Roundtable Discussion on Anarchist Video Activism @ Omni Commons, 4799 Shattuck Ave, Oakland, CA omnicommons.org, ntaflof

November 3-5

Left Coast Forum 2017: State of the Struggle, 400 West Washington Blvd, Los Angeles, CA leftforurh.org

November 10 • 8pm

East Bay Bike Party

November 11-12

Boston Anarchist Bookfair, 775 Commonwealth Ave, Boston, MA bostonanarchistbookfair.org

November 12 • 12-7pm

Philly Zine Fest facebook.com/phillyzinefest

November 13 • 1-8pm

SF Punk-Metal Flea Market, The DNA Lounge, 375 11th st, SF CA

November 15 • 7:30pm

Anti Police-Terror Project (APTP) Meeting, Eastside Arts Alliance, 2277 International Blvd, Oakland, CA antipoliceterrorismproject.org

November 19 • 10-6pm

Howard Zinn Radical Bookfair, San Francisco City College, Mission Campus, SF CA howardzinnbookfair.com

November 24

BUY NOTHING DAY

December 10 • 7pm

Slingshot New Volunteer Meeting, Long Haul Infoshop, 3124 Shattuck Ave, Berkeley, CA

December 16-17

Punk Rock Flea Market, 1901 59th St Philly PA

December 17-18

KPFA Winter Craft Fair, 1414 Harbour Way S., Richmond, CA kpfa.org/craftsfair

January 13 • 3pm

Article submission deadline for Slingshot issue 126 *to slingshotcollective@protonmail.com

